A PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE OF THE EUROPEANS IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES

by

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A PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE OF THE EUROPEANS IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

Tranſlated from the French of the

ABBÉ RAYNAL,

By J. JUSTAMOND, M. A.

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CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME.

BOOK IV.

BOOK V.

BOOK VI.

BOOK VII.

Vol. II. and III.
MAP of the European Settlements in SOUTH AMERICA and on the Western Coast of AFRICA.
By Thos. Kitchin Hydrographer to His Majesty
NORTH AMERICA
NEW MEXICO
CAROLINA
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
Tropic of Cancer
Azores Islands
Madeira Is.
Canary Islands
C. Verd Islands
SPAIN
BARBARY
COUNTRY of DATES
FEZZAN
SAHARA or Desert of Barbary
AFRICA
NIGRITIA
GUINEA
Bambara
Country abounding in Gold
Equator or Equinoctial Line
SOUTH AMERICA
BRAZIL
TOPINAMBAS
Tapuyas
PARAGUAY
TUCUMAN
CHILI
Pampas
Buenos Ayres
Rio de la Plata
T. MAGELLANICA
Falkland Is.
Str. of Magellan
Staten Land
C. Horn
SOUTH PACIFIC OCEAN OR SOUTH SEA
SOUTHERN OCEAN
Tropic of Capricorn
St. Helena
LOANGO
CONGO
ANGOLA
BENGUELA
Cimbebes
HOTTENTOTS
C. of Good Hope
Meridian of Ferro
English Miles
Leagues 20 to a Deg.
Longitude West from Ferro
Longitude E. from Ferro
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1564

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PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE OF THE EUROPEANS IN THE EAST AND WEST INDIES.

BOOK IV.

Voyages, Settlements, Wars and Trade of the French in the East-Indies.

BOOK IV.

Ancient revolutions of commerce in France.

THE ancient Gauls, almoſt always at war with each other, had no other intercourſe but ſuch as ſavage nations, whoſe wants are always few, can have with each other. Their connections abroad were ſtill more circumſcribed. Some navigators from Vannes carried earthenware to Great-Britain, where they bartered it for dogs, ſlaves, tin and furs. Such of theſe articles as they could not diſpoſe of at home, were conveyed to Marſeilles, and there exchanged for wines, ſtuffs, and ſpices, which were brought thither by traders from Italy or Greece.

 THIS

This kind of traffic was not carried on by all the Gauls. It appears from Cæſar's account, that the inhabitants of Belgia had prohibited the importation of all foreign commodities, as tending to corrupt their morals. They thought their own ſoil ſufficiently fruitful to anſwer all their wants. The Celtic and Aquitanian Gauls were not ſo ſtrict. To enable them to pay for the commodities they might procure from the Mediterranean, and for which their deſire was continually increaſing, they had recourſe to a kind of labour that had never before occurred to them: they collected with great care all the gold duſt that was brought down with the ſand along the ſtream of ſeveral of their rivers.

Though the Romans had neither a turn for trade, nor held it in any kind of eſtimation, it neceſſarily increaſed in Gaul, after they had ſubdued, and in ſome meaſure civilized it. Sea-ports were eſtabliſhed at Arles, Narbonne, Bourdeaux, and other places. Magnificent roads were every where made, the ruins of which we ſtill behold with aſtoniſhment. Every navigable river had its company of merchants, to whom conſiderable privileges were granted. Theſe were called *Nautes*, and were the agents and ſprings of a general circulation.

This riſing ſpirit was checked by the inroads of the Franks and other barbarous nations; nor was it reſtored to its former activity, even when theſe robbers had eſtabliſhed themſelves in their conqueſts. To their ſavage fury ſucceeded an unbounded

unbounded paſſion for wealth, to gratify which, they had recourſe to every kind of oppreſſion. Every boat that came to a town was to pay a duty for entrance, another for the ſalute, a third for the bridge, a fourth for approaching the ſhore, a fifth for anchorage, a ſixth for leave to unload, and a ſeventh for ſtore-room. Land carriages were not more favourably treated, and were expoſed to the inſufferable tyranny of cuſtom-houſe officers who were diſperſed all over the country. Theſe exceſſes were carried ſo far, that ſometimes the goods brought to market did not produce enough to pay the expences incurred before the ſale of them. A total diſcouragement was the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch enormities.

Cloysters ſoon became the only places where induſtry prevailed, and manufactures were carried on. The monks were not then corrupted by idleneſs, intrigue, and debauchery. Uſeful labours filled up the vacancies of an edifying and retired life. The moſt humble and robuſt of them ſhared the toils of agriculture with their ſervants. Thoſe to whom nature had imparted leſs ſtrength, or more underſtanding, applied themſelves to the cultivation of the neglected and abandoned arts. All of them in ſilence and retirement were engaged in the ſervice of their country, whoſe ſubſtance their ſucceſſors have inceſſantly devoured, and diſturbed its tranquillity.

Dagobert excited the ſpirit of his countrymen in the ſeventh century. Fairs were opened, to which the Saxons flocked with tin and lead from

 England;

England; the Jews with jewels and gold or ſilver plate; the Sclavonians with all the metals of the north; traders from Lombardy, Provence, and Spain, with the commodities of their reſpective countries, and thoſe they received from Africa, Egypt and Syria; and merchants of every province in the kingdom, with whatever their ſoil and their induſtry afforded. Unfortunately this proſperity was of a ſhort duration; it diſappeared under indolent kings, but revived under Charlemagne.

THAT prince, who might without flattery be ranked with the greateſt men recorded in hiſtory, had he not been ſometimes influenced by ſanguinary ſchemes of conqueſt, and ſullied with acts of perſecution and tyranny; ſeemed to follow the footſteps of thoſe firſt Romans, who made rural labours a relaxation from the fatigues of war. He applied himſelf to the care of his vaſt domains, with that cloſeneſs and ſkill which would hardly be expected from the moſt aſſiduous man in a private ſtation. All the great men of the ſtate followed his example, and devoted themſelves to huſbandry, and to thoſe arts which attend, or are immediately connected with it. From that period the French had plenty of their own productions to barter, and could with great eaſe make them circulate throughout the immenſe empire, which was then ſubject to their dominion.

SO flouriſhing a ſituation preſented a freſh allurement to the Normans to indulge the inclination they had for piracy. Thoſe barbarians, accuſtomed

cuſtomed to ſeek from plunder that wealth which their ſoil did not afford, came in multitudes out of their inhoſpitable climate in queſt of booty. They attacked all the ſea-coaſts but thoſe of France, which promiſed the richeſt ſpoil, with the greateſt violence. The ravages they committed, with the cruelties they exerciſed, the flames they kindled for a whole century in thoſe fertile provinces, cannot be remembered without horror. During that fatal period nothing was thought of but how to eſcape ſlavery or death. There was no communication between the ſeveral parts of the kingdom, and conſequently no trade.

In the mean-time the nobles, intruſted with the adminiſtration of the provinces, had inſenſibly made themſelves maſters of them, and had found means to make their authority hereditary. They had not, indeed, thrown off all dependence on the head of the empire; but retaining the modeſt appellation of vaſſals, they were not much leſs formidable to the ſtate than the kings in the neighbourhood of its frontiers. They were confirmed in their uſurpations at the memorable æra, when the ſceptre was removed from the family of Charlemagne to that of the Capets. From that time there were no longer any national aſſemblies, no tribunals, no laws, no government. In that fatal confuſion the ſword uſurped the place of juſtice, and the free citizens were forced to embrace ſervitude, to purchaſe the protection of a chief who was able to defend them.

COMMERCE could not poſſibly flouriſh when loaded with the ſhackles of ſlavery, and in the midſt of the continual diſturbances occaſioned by the moſt cruel anarchy. Induſtry is the child of peace; nothing depreſſes it ſo much as ſervitude. Genius languiſhes when it is not animated by hope and emulation; and neither of theſe can ſubſiſt where there is no property. Nothing is a ſtronger recommendation of liberty, or more fully proves the rights of mankind, than the impoſſibility of working ſucceſsfully to enrich barbarous maſters.

SEVERAL of the kings of France entertained ſome idea of this important truth; they attempted to abridge the power of thoſe petty tyrants, who, by ruining their unfortunate vaſſals, kept up the calamities of the monarchy. St. Lewis was the firſt who introduced trade into the ſyſtem of government. Before his time it was only a work of chance and circumſtances. He brought it under the regulation of ſtated laws, and he himſelf drew up ſtatutes, which have ſerved as a model for thoſe that have ſince been enacted.

THESE firſt ſteps led the way to meaſures of greater importance. The old law, which forbad the exportation of all productions of the kingdom, was ſtill in force, and agriculture was diſcouraged by this abſurd prohibition. The wiſe monarch removed theſe fatal impediments; expecting, not without reaſon, that a free exportation would reſtore to the nation thoſe treaſures which his imprudent expedition into Aſia had laviſhed.

SOME

Some political events feconded thefe falutary views. Before the reign of St. Lewis, the kings of France had but few ports on the ocean, and none on the Mediterranean. The northern coafts were divided between the Counts of Flanders and the Dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, and Bertagne; the reft belonged to the Englifh. The fouthern coafts were poffeffed by the Counts of Toulouſe, and the Kings of Majorca, Arragon, and Caftile. By this arrangement, the inland provinces had little or no communication with the foreign markets. The union of the county of Touloufe with the crown removed this great obftacle, at leaft for a part of the French territory.

Philip, the fon of St. Lewis, defirous of improving the advantages of this union, endeavoured to draw to Nifmes, a city under his jurifdiction, part of the trade carried on at Montpellier which belonged to the king of Arragon. The privileges he granted produced the defired effect; but it was foon found to be an object of little confequence. The Italians fupplied the kingdom with fpices, perfumes, filks, and all the rich ftuffs of the Eaft. The arts had not made fuch progrefs in France as to admit of the manufactures being ufed in exchange; and the produce of agriculture was not fufficient to defray fo many expences of luxury. A trade of fuch value could not be carried on without money, and there was but little in the kingdom, efpecially fince the Crufades; though France was not fo poor as moft of the other European nations.

PHILIP, ſurnamed The Fair, was ſenſible of theſe truths; he found means to improve agriculture, ſo as to anſwer the demands of foreign importations, and theſe he reduced by eſtabliſhing new manufactures, and improving the old ones. Under this reign the miniſtry firſt undertook to guide the hand of the artiſt, and to direct his labours. The breadth, the quality, and the dreſſing of the cloths were fixed; the exportation of wool, which the neighbouring nations came to purchaſe, in order to manufacture it, was prohibited. Theſe were the beſt meaſures that could be taken in thoſe times of ignorance.

SINCE that period the progreſs of the arts was proportioned to the decay of feudal tyranny. The French, however, did not begin to form their taſte till the time of their expeditions into Italy. They were dazzled with a thouſand new objects that preſented themſelves at Genoa, Venice, and Florence. The ſtrictneſs obſerved by Anne of Bretagne, under the reigns of Charles VIII. and Lewis XII. at firſt reſtrained the conquerors from giving full ſcope to their propenſity for imitation; but no ſooner had Francis I. invited the women to court, no ſooner had Catharine of Medicis croſſed the Alps, than the great affected an elegance unknown before ſince the firſt foundation of the monarchy. The whole nation was led by this alluring example of luxury, and the improvement of the manufactures was the natural conſequence.

FROM Henry II. to Henry IV. the civil wars, the

the unhappy divifions of religion, the ignorance of government, the fpirit of finance which began to have its influence in the council; the barbarous and devouring avarice of men in bufinefs encouraged by the protection they enjoyed; all thefe feveral caufes retarded the progrefs of induftry, but could never deftroy it. It revived with frefh fplendour under the frugal adminiftration of Sully. It was almoft extinguifhed under thofe of Richelieu and Mazarine, both governed by the farmers of the revenue; one wholly taken up with his ambition for empire and his fpirit of revenge, the other with intrigue and plunder.

First voyage of the French to the Eaft-Indies.

No king of France had ever ferioufly confidered the advantages that might accrue from a trade to India, nor had the emulation of the French been excited by the luftre which other nations derived from it. They confumed more eaftern productions than any other nation; they were as favourably fituated for procuring them at the firft hand; and yet they were content to pay to foreign induftry what their own might as well have partaken of.

Some merchants of Rouen had ventured, indeed, in 1535, upon a fmall expedition; but Genonville, who commanded it, met with violent ftorms at the Cape of Good Hope, was caft upon unknown lands, and with much difficulty got back to Europe.

In 1601 a fociety formed in Bretagne fitted out two fhips, to endeavour to get a fhare, if poffible, of the riches of the Eaft, which the Portuguefe,

BOOK IV.

Portuguese, the English, and the Dutch, were contending for. Pyrard, who commanded these ships, arrived at the Maldives, and did not return to his own country till after an unfortunate navigation of ten years.

A NEW company, headed by one Girard, a native of Flanders, fitted out some ships from Normandy for the island of Java, in 1616 and 1619. They returned with cargoes sufficient to indemnify the adventurers, but not enough to encourage them to any fresh undertakings.

CAPTAIN Reginon, upon the expiration of this fruitless grant in 1633, prevailed upon some merchants of Dieppe, two years after, to enter upon a track which might be productive of great riches, if properly pursued. Fortune baffled the endeavours of the new adventurers. The only advantage gained by these repeated expeditions, was the high opinion that was conceived of the island of Madagascar, discovered by the Portuguese in 1506.

THIS gave rise to a company in 1642, which was to make a considerable settlement on that island, to secure to their ships the necessary refreshments for sailing further.

[Settlement of the French at Madagascar. Description of that island.]

UPON a survey of the island, it was found to be situated along the eastern coast of Africa; it was three hundred and thirty-six leagues long, and one hundred and twenty broad in the widest part, and about eight hundred in circumference. By whatever wind a ship is brought there, nothing but dreary and barren sands are to be seen; but

at

at a greater diſtance from the ſhore the ſoil is ſometimes black, ſometimes reddiſh, moſtly fruitful, and every where watered by a great number of rivers. Vegetation is here very quick; the ſoil requires little labour, and naturally produces rice, potatoes, bananas pine-apples, indigo, hemp, cotton, ſilk, ſugar, palm-trees, cocoa-trees, orange-trees, gum-trees, and timber fit for building, and for every uſe. The paſtures are excellent, and are covered with oxen of the largeſt kind, and ſheep exactly reſembling thoſe of Barbary.

THE iſland of Madagaſcar is divided into a great many provinces; each of them has a chief called *Dian*, which anſwers to the word Lord. All the enſigns of his dignity are his ſlaves and his flocks. His place is hereditary, but, in default of heirs, it devolves upon the oldeſt of his delegates. His council is compoſed of ſome magiſtrates whom he makes choice of; and the reſt, which is the greateſt number, reſide in the villages to preſerve peace, and adminiſter juſtice. He can neither declare war without their conſent, nor ſupport it without the voluntary contribution and actual aſſiſtance of his people.

SUCH is the general form of government in the iſland; the province of Anoſſi alone differs from it, having been poſſeſſed by the Arabs for ſeveral centuries paſt. Though few in number, they ſoon became the ſtrongeſt, and divided the country into twenty-two diſtricts, each of which had a ruler of their own nation, to whom they gave the name of *Boandrian*, or deſcendant of Abraham.

Theſe

These petty sovereigns are continually at war with each other, but never fail to unite against the other princes of Madagascar, who hold them in detestation, as being foreigners and usurpers. This is of all the island that part which is the most destitute of morals, activity, industry and bravery, because it is the only one where there is no liberty.

Some of the French settled at Fort Dauphin, in the country of Anossi, have lately in their excursions discovered a new race of men, called *Kimos*, the tallest of whom are not above four feet high. They inhabit about forty villages in the interior parts, towards the north-west of the island. They are said to be more mischievous than their neighbours, and, what appears very extraordinary, not so cowardly. They never stir out of their mountains, nor suffer any one to penetrate into them.

The other inhabitants of Madagascar are tall, nimble, and have a haughty appearance. They will mask a deep design, or a strong passion under a smiling face, as artfully as any knave in a civilized nation. They are ignorant of the origin of their laws, but observe them with great exactness. The old men, who are intrusted with the care of enforcing them, never take any fee for the trial of a criminal, and think themselves sufficiently rewarded if they can rid their country of a malefactor. In civil causes the parties bring them so many head of cattle, in proportion to the importance of the affair.

THE

The offence that is moſt frequently brought before theſe magiſtrates is theft. Notwithſtanding the cuſtom of boring the hand of the perſon convicted of this crime, the propenſity to theft prevails univerſally. The inhabitants, ever afraid of their property, live in continual miſtruſt of each other. For their mutual ſecurity, they ſeal their engagements with the moſt ſolemn oaths. They are ſo accuſtomed to theſe formalities, that they practiſe them even when they have any tranſactions with Europeans. On theſe important occaſions, he who repreſents the nation puts into a veſſel, filled with brandy, ſome gold, ſilver, gun-flint, if poſſible ſome of the duſt of the tomb of his anceſtors, and frequently blood, which, after the manner of the ancient Scythians, the parties draw out of their own arms by inciſion. During theſe preparatives their weapons are laid on the ground in the form of a croſs. Soon after, both parties take them up, and hold them with the point in the cup, conſtantly ſtirring the contents till the agreement is made. Then the contracting parties, the witneſſes, and the ſpectators, all drink out of the cup till it is empty, after which they embrace and retire.

Religious principles do not reſtrain the people of Madagaſcar from acts of injuſtice. Though in general they admit the prevailing doctrine of the two principles, they have but a confuſed notion of it, nor have they any form of worſhip whatever. Notwithſtanding this indifference for religion, they are addicted to every kind of ſuperſtition.

ſtition. In their uncouth notions of aſtrology they neither ſee, nor imagine any thing which they do not connect with futurity.

THE moſt dangerous of all their prejudices is, doubtleſs, the diſtinction between lucky and unlucky days. They inhumanely put to death all children born on the unlucky day. This deſtructive principle is one cauſe among many others which prevents the population of this country.

THOSE who do not fall victims to this cruel ſuperſtition are generally circumciſed at the age of two years, or twenty-four moons, as they expreſs it. The ceremony is performed with all poſſible ſolemnity. While the operation is performing, one of the child's parents holds a cup under the ſacred knife; and the moſt diſtinguiſhed of the uncles ſwallows the part of the prepuce that has been cut off. The reſt of the family, and the by-ſtanders, dip a finger into the blood, and taſte it. Theſe ſingular myſteries are concluded with feſtivity, dancing, and pleaſures of all kinds.

THE people of Madagaſcar never receive any kind of education, and marry as ſoon as they attain to the ſtate of manhood. A man of the lower claſs, even a ſlave, takes as many wives as he pleaſes, or as many as he can find. Perſons in higher ſtations have but one lawful wife; but in order to vary their pleaſures they keep concubines. They all put away their wives whenever they diſlike them, and both parties are at full liberty to marry again, or to remain ſingle.

THE people of Madagaſcar lead an idle and diſſolute life, and ſeldom arrive at old age. An unwhole-

unwholefome climate, bad food, conftant debauchery, the want of proper affiftance, together with other caufes, concur to haften their end. When a man dies, the whole neighbourhood is apprized of it by lamentations, expreffed in one continued mournful ftrain. The relations meet, and partake of the moft profufe entertainments, whilft the moft affectionate of the flaves keeps afking the deceafed, "What could induce "him to quit all that was dear to him." After eight days the corpfe is buried with the choiceft jewels of the deceafed, who is not even then forgotten. The refpect for anceftors is incredible in thofe barbarous regions. It is no uncommon thing to fee men of all ages weep over the tombs of their fathers, and afk their advice in the moft important occurrences of life.

THE common food of the inhabitants of Madagafcar is rice, which multiplies a hundred fold, though no pains are taken in cultivating it. Their drink is a kind of mead, and wine made with fugar and banana. Their greateft finery is a pagne over their fhoulders, and another round their waift.

MADAGASCAR had been vifited by the Portuguefe, the Dutch, and the Englifh, who had defpifed it, finding none of thofe objects which brought them to the Eaft. The French, who feemed to have no determinate object in view, fpent that capital they had referved for the purpofe of trade, in fubduing the ifland. They found fome gold fcattered in one corner of it, and directly

directly concluded there muft be gold mines, never fufpecting that this metal, the quantity of which was continually decreafing, might have been brought thither by the Arabs. They were punifhed for their greedinefs by the lofs of their whole ftock. At the expiration of their grant they had nothing left but a few tenements, fituated in five or fix different parts of the coaft, built of boards covered with leaves, furrounded with ftakes, and decorated with the pompous name of forts, becaufe they mounted a few bad pieces of cannon. Their defenders were reduced to about a hundred robbers, who by their cruelties daily increafed the hatred conceived againft their nation. The whole of their conquefts amounted to a few fmall diftricts, forfaken by the natives, and fome few larger ones, from whence they forcibly extorted a tribute of provifions.

MARSHAL de la Meilleraie feized upon thefe ruins, and conceived the project of reftoring this ill-conducted undertaking for his own private emolument. He had fo little fuccefs, that his property fold but for 20,000 livres *, which was full as much as it was worth.

AT laft, in 1664, Colbert prefented Lewis XIV. a plan for an Eaft India Company. Agriculture was then fo flourifhing in France, and induftry fo animated, that this branch of commerce feemed to be needlefs. The minifter was of a different opinion; he forefaw that the other European nations

* 875 l.

tions would follow his example, and ſet up manufactures of their own, and would alſo have another advantage over them by their connections in the Eaſt Indies. This was conſidered as an inſtance of deep penetration, and an Eaſt India company was accordingly created, veſted with all the privileges enjoyed by the Dutch Eaſt India company. Colbert went ſtill further; and conſidering that in order to carry on great commercial undertakings there muſt always be a certain confidence in republics, which cannot be expected in monarchies, had recourſe to every expedient that could produce it.

A CHARTER was granted for fifty years, that the company might be encouraged to form great ſettlements, with a proſpect of reaping the fruits of them.

ALL foreigners advancing 20,000 livres * were to be deemed Frenchmen, without being naturalized.

ON the like terms, officers, whatever corps they belonged to, were allowed leave of abſence, without forfeiting the rights of their poſt, or their pay.

WHATEVER was wanted for the building, equipment or victualling of the ſhips, was to be entered duty free, and be exempt from all duties to the admiralty.

THE government engaged to pay fifty livres† per ton for all goods exported from France to India,

* 875 l.

† 2 l. 3s. 9d.

dia, and ſeventy-five livres* for every ton imported from thence.

THE government entered into engagements to defend the ſettlements of the company with a ſufficient military force, and to convoy their outward and homeward bound ſhips, with as ſtrong a ſquadron as exigencies ſhould require.

THE reigning paſſion of the nation was made ſubſervient to this eſtabliſhment. Hereditary titles and honours were promiſed to ſuch as ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves in the ſervice of the company.

As trade was yet in its infancy in France, and was unable to furniſh the fifteen millions† that were to conſtitute the ſtock of the new ſociety, the miniſtry engaged to lend as far as three millions‡. The nobles, the magiſtrates, all orders of men were invited to ſhare the reſt. The nation, proud to pleaſe their king, who had not yet cruſhed them with the weight of his falſe greatneſs, came into the propoſal with great eagerneſs.

THE perſiſting in the reſolution of forming a ſettlement at Madagaſcar deprived the company of the benefit of the firſt voyage. They were at length obliged to relinquiſh that iſland, whoſe ſavage and unconquerable inhabitants could not be reconciled either to the commodities, the worſhip, or the manners of Europe.

AT that period it was, that the company's ſhips began to ſail directly to India. By the intrigues of Marcara, a native of Iſpahan, but in the French intereſt, they obtained leave to eſtabliſh

* 3l. 5s. 7d. ½ † Above 656,200l. ‡ 131,250l.

factories

factories on ſeveral places on the coaſt of the peninſula. They even attempted to ſecure a ſhare of the Japan trade. Colbert offered to ſend none but proteſtants; but by the artifices of the Dutch, the French were denied an entrance into that empire, as the Engliſh had been before.

The French make Surat the center of their trade.

SURAT had been pitched upon for the center of all the buſineſs which the company was to carry on in thoſe parts. It was from that capital of Guzarat that all orders were to be iſſued for the inferior ſettlements. Thither all goods deſtined for Europe were to be brought.

Account of this famous city, and of the province of Guzarat in which it is ſituated.

GUZARAT forms a peninſula between the Indus and Malabar. It is about one hundred and ſixty miles in length, and much the ſame in breadth. It is ſeparated from the kingdom of Agra by the mountains of Marva. It rains there inceſſantly from June to September; at all other times the ſky is ſo clear, that ſcarce a cloud is to be ſeen. The burning heat of the ſun, however, is happily tempered by refreſhing dews, which cool the air and moiſten the ground. The richneſs of a ſoil abounding in corn, rice, ſugar, cotton, cattle, game, fruits of all kinds continually ſucceeding each other, added to a variety of important manufactures, was ſufficient for the happineſs of the inhabitants; when, in the beginning of the eighth century, ſtrangers came and introduced new branches of induſtry among them.

SOME Perſians, who were perſecuted for their opinions by the Saracens their conquerors, took refuge in the iſle of Ormus, whence they ſailed

ſome time after for India, and landed at Diu. In this aſylum they continued only nineteen years, and then embarked again. They were driven by the winds upon a pleaſant ſhore between Daman and Baçaim. The prince who governed that country, conſented to receive them as his ſubjects, on condition that they ſhould reveal the myſteries of their belief, that they ſhould lay down their arms, that they ſhould ſpeak the Indian language, that their women ſhould go abroad unveiled, and that they ſhould celebrate their nuptials at the cloſe of the evening, according to the cuſtom of the country. As theſe ſtipulations contained nothing repugnant to their religious notions, the people who fled there for protection agreed to them. A piece of ground was allotted them, where they built a town, whence they ſoon ſpread further up the country.

A HABIT of labour happily contracted by neceſſity had made both the lands and the manufactures proſper in their hands. They were ſo wiſe as not to interfere with government or war, and enjoyed a profound tranquillity in the midſt of all the revolutions that happened from time to time. In conſequence of this circumſpection, and of the affluence in which they lived, they multiplied very faſt. They always remained a ſeparate people, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Parſes, never intermarrying with the Indians, and adhering to the principles which had occaſioned their baniſhment. Their tenets were thoſe of Zoroaſter, ſomewhat altered by time, ignorance, and the rapaciouſneſs of the prieſts.

THE

THE prosperity of Guzarat, partly owing to the exiled Persians, excited the ambition of two formidable powers. Whilst the Portuguese annoyed it on the side of the sea by the ravages they committed, by the victories they gained, and by the conquest of Diu, justly esteemed the bulwark of the kingdom; the Moguls, already masters of the north of India, and eager to advance towards the southern parts where trade and riches were to be found, threatened it from the continent.

BADUR, a Patan by birth, who then reigned over Guzarat, saw how impossible it would be for him at once to withstand two such enemies, both bent upon his destruction. He thought he had less to fear from a people whose forces were separated from their dominions by immense seas, than from a nation firmly settled on the frontiers of his provinces. This consideration made him determine to be reconciled with the Portuguese. The concessions he made induced them to join with him against Akbar, whose activity and courage they dreaded little less than he did.

THIS alliance disconcerted men who thought they had only Indians to deal with. They could not think of engaging with Europeans, who were reputed invincible. The natives, not yet recovered from the consternation into which these conquerors had thrown them, represented them to the Mogul soldiers as men come down from heaven, or risen from the waters, of a species infinitely superior to the Asiatics, and far surpassing them in valour, genius and knowledge. The army

 seized

ſeized with a panic, was urging the generals to march back to Delhi, when Akbar, convinced that a prince who undertakes a great conqueſt muſt command his own troops, haſtened to his camp. He did not heſitate to promiſe his troops that they ſhould ſubdue a people enervated by luxury, riches, pleaſures, and the heat of the climate; and that the glory of purging Aſia of that handful of banditti was reſerved for them. The army, thus encouraged, expreſſed their ſatisfaction, and marched on with confidence. They ſoon came to an engagement; the Portugueſe, ill ſeconded by their allies, were ſurrounded and cut to pieces. Badur fled, and never returned. All the cities of Guzarat haſtened to open their gates to the conqueror. This fine kingdom in 1565, became a province of that vaſt empire which was ſoon to ſubdue all Indoſtan.

UNDER the Mogul government, which was then in its full glory, Guzarat enjoyed more tranquillity than before. The manufactures were multiplied at Cambaya, Amadabat, Broitſchia, and ſeveral other places. New ones were ſet up in thoſe towns which were yet unacquainted with this branch of induſtry. The culture of lands was improved, and their productions increaſed. That part of Malabar which borders upon Guzarat, long ſince tired of the impoſitions of the Portugueſe, brought their linen cloths thither. The goods manufactured on the banks of the Indus were likewiſe ſent to this country, as they could not conveniently be conveyed down the river, the

ſtream

ſtream being too rapid above to land them, and below, the waters diſcharging into the ſea by ſo many channels, that they are in a manner loſt in the ſands.

All theſe riches centered at Surat, which ſtands on the river Tapta, a few miles from the ocean. This city was indebted for this advantage to a fort, which protected the merchants, and to its harbour, the beſt on that coaſt, though not an excellent one. The Moguls, who had then no other maritime town, drew all their articles of luxury from thence; and the Europeans, who had not at that time any of the great ſettlements they have ſince made at Bengal and on the coaſt of Coromandel, bought moſt of their Indian commodities at that place. They were all collected there, as the people of Surat had taken care to procure a navy ſuperior to that of their neighbours.

Their ſhips, which were exceedingly durable, were moſtly of a thouſand or twelve hundred tons burthen. They were built of a very ſtrong wood called Teak. Inſtead of launching them with a coſtly apparatus and complicated engines, they let the tide into the dock, and it ſet them afloat. The cordage was made of the bark of the cocoa-tree; it was rougher and leſs pliable than ours, but at leaſt as ſtrong. Their cotton ſails were neither ſo ſtrong nor ſo laſting as our hempen ones, but more pliable and leſs apt to be torn. Inſtead of pitch, they made uſe of the gum of a tree called Damar, which was, perhaps, prefer-

BOOK IV.

able. The ſkill of their officers, though but moderate, was ſufficient for the ſeas and the ſeaſons in which they ſailed. As to their ſailors, called Laſcars, the Europeans have found them ſerviceable in their voyages from one part of India to another. They have even been employed ſucceſsfully in bringing home into our ſtormy latitudes ſuch ſhips as had loſt their crews.

So many united advantages had brought to Surat a great concourſe of Moguls, Indians, Perſians, Arabs, Armenians, Jews and Europeans. We hardly ſuſpected that commerce was founded on any certain principles, while theſe principles were already known and practiſed in this part of Aſia. The value of money was very low, and it was eaſily obtained; and bills of exchange might be had for every market in India. Inſurances for the moſt diſtant navigations were very common. Such was the honeſty of theſe traders, that bags of money ticketed and ſealed by the bankers would circulate for years, without ever being counted or weighed. Fortunes were proportionable to the facility with which they were to be acquired by trade. Thoſe of five or ſix millions * were not uncommon, and ſome were even more conſiderable.

THESE fortunes were moſtly poſſeſſed by the Banians, a ſet of traders who were noted for their honeſty. A few moments were ſufficient for them to tranſact the moſt important buſineſs. In the moſt intricate diſcuſſions, they preſerved an even-

* About 240,000l. on an average.

neſs

neſs of temper and a politeneſs which can hardly be conceived.

THEIR children, who aſſiſted at all bargains, were early trained up to this gentleneſs of manners. Upon the firſt dawning of reaſon, they were initiated into all the myſteries of trade. It was a common thing to ſee a child of ten or twelve years old, able to ſupply his father's place. What a contraſt, what a diſtance between this and the education of our children; and yet, what a difference between the attainments of the Indians and the progreſs of our knowledge!

SUCH of the Banians as had Abyſſinian ſlaves, and very few of theſe good-natured men had any, treated them with ſuch humanity as muſt appear very ſingular to us. They brought them up as if they had been of their own family, trained them to buſineſs, advanced them money to enable them to trade for themſelves, and not only ſuffered them to enjoy the profits, but even allowed them to diſpoſe of them in favour of their deſcendents, if they had any.

THE expences of the Banians were not proportioned to their fortunes. As they were reſtrained by the principles of their religion from eating meat or drinking ſtrong liquors, they lived upon fruits, and a few plain diſhes. They never departed from this frugality but upon the ſettlement of their children. On this ſingle occaſion, no expence was ſpared for the entertainment, or for the muſic, dancing, and fireworks. Their whole ambition was to tell how much the wedding

BOOK IV.

ding had coſt. Sometimes it amounted to a hundred thouſand crowns †.

Even their women had a taſte for this ſimplicity of manners. All their glory conſiſted in pleaſing their huſbands. Perhaps, the great veneration in which they held the nuptial tie aroſe from the cuſtom of marrying them in their earlieſt infancy. That ſentiment was in their opinion, the moſt ſacred part of their religion. They never did allow themſelves the leaſt converſation with ſtrangers. Leſs reſerve would not have ſatisfied their huſbands, who could not hear, without aſtoniſhment, of the familiarity that prevailed between the two ſexes in Europe. When they were told that this freedom was attended with no ill conſequences, they were not convinced; but ſhook their heads, and anſwered by one of their proverbs, which ſignifies, *That if you bring butter too near the fire, you can hardly keep it from melting.*

Excepting the Moguls, who were in poſſeſſion of all places under the government, were very extravagant in their ſtables, their baths and their ſeraglios; and ran into every kind of indulgence to drown the ſenſe of deſpotiſm under which they lived, all the merchants of Surat conformed to the frugality of the Banians, as far as the difference of religion would admit. Their greateſt expence was the decorating of their houſes.

These were contrived in the beſt manner to guard againſt the heat of the climate. The out-

† 13,125l.

ſide

ſide walls were covered with beautiful wainſcoting, and the inſide ones, as well as the cielings, inlaid with porcelain. The panes of their windows were ſhell or mother of pearl, which tempered the glare of the ſun without too much obſtructing the light. The apartments were neatly diſpoſed and furniſhed, ſuitably to the cuſtoms of the country; and one of the rooms was diſtinguiſhed from the reſt by a fountain of water ſpouting up from a marble baſon, whoſe gentle murmurs invited the company to ſoft ſlumbers.

During their repoſe, the common indulgence of the inhabitants of Surat was to ſtretch themſelves upon a ſopha, where they were rubbed by men of ſingular dexterity, or rather kneaded, if we may be allowed the expreſſion, like dough. The neceſſity of promoting the circulation of the fluids, too often retarded by the heat of the climate, firſt ſuggeſted the notion of this exerciſe, which affords them an infinite variety of delightful ſenſations. They fall into ſuch a ſtate of languor, that they ſometimes almoſt faint away. This cuſtom was ſaid to be brought into India from China; and ſome epigrams of Martial and declamations of Seneca, ſeem to hint that it was not unknown to the Romans at the time when they refined upon every pleaſure, as the tyrants who enſlaved thoſe maſters of the world afterwards refined upon every torture.

They had another ſpecies of pleaſure at Surat, which, perhaps, our effeminacy would have envied them ſtill more; and this was their female dancers,

dancers, whom the Europeans call *Balliaderes*, a name given them by the Portuguese.

NUMBERS of these are collected together in seminaries of pleasure. The most accomplished of these societies are devoted to the richest and most frequented Pagodas. Their destination is to dance in the temples on their great festivals, and to be subservient to the pleasures of the Bramins. These priests, who have not taken the artful and deceitful vow of renouncing the enjoyment of all pleasures, in order to have the opportunity of indulging in them more freely, chuse rather to have women of their own, than at once to defile celibacy and wedlock. They do not invade another man's right by adultery, but are jealous of the dancers, whose worship and vows they share with the gods; but they never suffer them without reluctance to contribute to the amusement even of kings and great men.

THE rise of this singular institution is not known. Probably, one Bramin who had a concubine or a wife, associated with another Bramin, who had likewise his concubine or his wife; and in process of time, the mixture of so many Bramins and women occasioned such confusion, that the women came to be common to all those priests. Let but a number of single persons of both sexes be collected in a cloyster, and a commonalty of men and women will soon take place.

BY this mutual intercourse, a jealousy was probably extinguished; and the women were not uneasy at the increase of their numbers, nor the Bramins

Bramins at that of their order. It was rather a new conqueſt than a rivalſhip.

It is no leſs probable, that in order to palliate the infamy of this licentiouſneſs in the eyes of the people, all women were conſecrated to the ſervice of the altars: and that the people readily conſented to this kind of ſuperſtition, as it inſured their wives and daughters from ſeduction, by confining the lawleſs deſires of theſe monks to one particular ſpot.

The contrivance of ſtamping a ſacred character upon theſe courtezans, might poſſibly make parents the more willing to part with their beautiful daughters, and to conſent that they ſhould follow their calling, and devote themſelves to theſe ſeminaries, from whence the ſuperannuated women might return to ſociety without diſgrace: for there is no crime that may not be ſanctified, no virtue that may not be debaſed by the intervention of the gods. The very notion of a Supreme Being may, in the hands of a crafty prieſt, be made ſubverſive of all morality. He will affirm, not that ſuch a thing is pleaſing to the gods, becauſe it is good; but that ſuch a thing is good, becauſe it is pleaſing to the gods.

The Bramins wanted only to gain another point in order to complete this inſtitution; which was, to perſuade the people that it was decent, holy, and pleaſing to the gods, to marry a balladiere in preference to all other women, and thereby induce them to ſolicit the remains of their debaucheries as a particular mark of favour.

In

In every city there are other companies, not so well instructed as the former, for the amusement of the rich. The Moors and Gentiles may equally procure a sight of these dancers at their country houses, or in their public assemblies. There are even strolling companies of them, conducted by old women, who having been themselves trained up in these seminaries, in time are promoted to the direction of them.

These handsome girls have the custom, as singular as it is disgustful, of being always followed by an old deformed musician, whose employment is to beat time with an instrument of brass, which the Europeans have lately borrowed of the Turks to add to their military music, and which in India is called a *tam*. The man who holds it, is continually repeating that word with such vehemence, that by degrees he works himself up into dreadful convulsions, whilst the balladieres, intoxicated with the desire of pleasing, and the sweets with which they are perfumed, at length lose their senses.

Their dances are, in general, love pantomimes: the plan, the design, the attitudes, the time, the airs, the cadence, all is expressive of this passion, with all its raptures and extravagancies.

Every thing conspires to the amazing success of these voluptuous women: the art and richness of their attire, as well as their ingenuity in setting off their beauty. Their long black hair falling over their shoulders, or braided and turned up, is loaded with diamonds, and stuck with flowers. Their

Their necklaces and bracelets are enriched with precious ſtones. Even their noſe jewels, an ornament which ſhocks us at firſt ſight, has ſomething pleaſing in it, and ſets off all the other ornaments by a certain ſymmetry, whoſe effect, though inexplicable, is yet ſenſibly felt by degrees.

Nothing can equal the care they take to preſerve their breaſts, as one of the moſt ſtriking marks of their beauty. To prevent them from growing large or ill ſhaped, they incloſe them in two caſes made of an exceeding light wood, which are joined together, and buckled behind. Theſe caſes are ſo ſmooth and ſo ſupple, that they give way to the various attitudes of the body, without being flattened, and without injuring the delicacy of the ſkin. The outſide of theſe caſes is covered with a leaf of gold ſtudded with diamonds. This is certainly one of the moſt refined kind of ornaments, and the beſt calculated to preſerve beauty. They take it off and put it on again with ſingular facility. This covering of the breaſt does not prevent the palpitations, heavings, and tender emotions of it from being perceived: it conceals nothing that can contribute to excite deſire.

Most of theſe dancers imagine it an addition to the beauty of their complexion, and the impreſſion of their looks, to trace a black circle round their eyes with a hair bodkin, dipped in the powder of antimony. This borrowed beauty, celebrated by all the eaſtern poets, appeared very ſingular at firſt to the Europeans; but cuſtom has reconciled them to it.

The whole life, the whole employment, the whole felicity of the balladieres consists in the art of pleasing. It is not easy to resist their seducing manners. They are even preferred to those beauties of Cassimere, which fill the seraglios of Indostan, as the fair Georgians and Circassians do those of Ispahan and Constantinople. The modesty, or rather the reserve of proud slaves, sequestered from the society of men, cannot balance the arts of these expert courtezans.

They were no where so much in repute as at Surat, the richest and most populous city in India. It began to decline in 1664; and was pillaged by the famous Sevagi, who carried off twenty five or thirty millions*. The plunder would have been infinitely greater, had not the English and Dutch escaped the public calamity, by the care they had taken to fortify their factories, and had not the most valuable effects been lodged in the castle, which was out of the enemy's reach. This loss made the inhabitants more cautious. They built walls round the city to prevent the like misfortune; the effects of which were removed, when the English, in 1686, with shameful and inexcusable rapacity, stopped all the ships that were fitting out at Surat to be dispatched to the several seas. This piracy, which lasted three years, deprived this famous mart of almost every branch of trade that was not its own peculiar property. The town was nearly reduced to its own natural riches.

* About 1,200,000 l. on an average.

OTHER

Other pirates have ſince infeſted thoſe latitudes, and from time to time diſturbed the trade of Surat. Even their caravans, that carried their merchandiſes to Agra, to Delhi, and all over the empire, were not always ſecured from the attacks of the ſubjects of the independent rajas, which they met with on the ſeveral roads. They had formerly recourſe to a ſingular expedient for the ſecurity of their caravans, which was, to put them under the protection of a woman or child, of a race held ſacred by the nations they dreaded. When the banditti appeared, the guardians of the caravans threatened to deſtroy themſelves if they perſiſted in their reſolution of plundering it, and actually did ſo if they did not yield to their remonſtrances. Theſe profligate men, who had not been reſtrained by reſpect of blood held ſacred, were excommunicated, degraded, and caſt out of their tribe. The dread of theſe ſevere puniſhments was ſometimes a check upon avarice; but ſince univerſal commotions have prevailed in Indoſtan, no conſideration can allay the thirſt of gold.

Notwithstanding all theſe misfortunes, Surat is ſtill a great trading city. The produce of the numberleſs manufactures all over Guzarat is depoſited in its warehouſes. A great part is carried into the inland countries; the reſt is conveyed to all parts of the globe by conſtant voyages.

The goods more commonly known are, 1ſt, Dutties, a kind of coarſe unbleached cloth, worn in Perſia, Arabia, Abyſſinia, and the eaſtern coaſt of Africa; and blue linens, which are diſpoſed of

in the ſame manner, and are likewiſe ſold to the Engliſh and Dutch for their Guinea trade.

2. The blue and white checks of Cambaya, which are worn for mantles in Arabia and Turkey: ſome are coarſe and ſome fine, and ſome even mixed with gold for the uſe of the rich.

3. The white linens of Broitſchia, ſo well known by the name of Bafras. As they are extremely fine, they make ſummer caftans for the Turks and Perſians. The ſort of muſlin, with a gold ſtripe at each end, with which they make their turbans, is manufactured at the ſame place.

4. The printed callicoes of Amadabat, whoſe colours are as bright, as fine, and as durable as thoſe of Coromandel. They are worn in Perſia, in Turkey, and in Europe. The rich people of Java, Sumatra, and the Molucca iſlands make pagnes and coverlets of theſe chintzes.

5. The gauzes of Bairapour; the blue ones are worn by the common people in Perſia and Turkey for their ſummer cloathing, and the red ones by perſons of higher rank. The Jews, who are not allowed by the Porte to wear white, make their turbans with theſe gauzes.

6. Mixed ſtuffs of ſilk and cotton, plain, ſtriped, ſome with ſattin ſtripes, ſome mixed with gold and ſilver. If they were not ſo dear, they would be eſteemed even in Europe for the brightneſs of their colours, and the fine execution of the flowers, though their patterns are ſo indifferent. They ſoon wear out; but this is of little conſequence in the ſeraglios of Turkey and Perſia where they are uſed.

7. Some

7. SOME are all ſilk, called tapis. Theſe are pagnes of ſeveral colours, much eſteemed in the eaſtern parts of India. Many more would be wove, if it had not been neceſſary to uſe foreign materials, which enhances the price too much.

8. SHAULS, very light, warm, and fine cloths, made of the wool of Caſſimere. They are dyed of different colours, ſtriped and flowered. They are worn for a winter dreſs in Turkey, Perſia, and the more temperate parts of India. With this fine wool turbans are woven, that are ell wide, and a little more than three ells long, which ſell from 2400 to 3600 livres*. Though this wool is ſometimes manufactured at Surat, the fineſt works of this kind are made at Caſſimere.

BESIDES the prodigious quantity of cotton made uſe of in the manufactures of Surat, ſeven or eight thouſand bales at leaſt are annually ſent to Bengal. Much more is ſent to China, Perſia, and Arabia, when the crops are very plentiful. If they are moderate, the overplus is carried down the Ganges, where it is always ſold at a higher price.

THOUGH Surat receives, in exchange for her exports, porcelain from China; ſilk from Bengal and Perſia; maſts and pepper from Malabar; gums, dates, dried fruits, copper and pearls from Perſia; perfumes and ſlaves from Arabia; great quantities of ſpices from the Dutch; iron, lead, cloth, cochineal, and ſome hard wares from the Engliſh; the balance is ſo much in her favour, as

* About 130l. on an average.

to bring in yearly twenty-five or twenty-fix millions of livres* in ready money. The profit would be much greater, if the riches of the court of Delhi were not conveyed into another channel.

However, this balance could never again rife to what it was when the French fettled at Surat in 1668. Their leader was one Caron. He was a merchant of French extraction, who was grown old in the fervice of the Dutch company. Hamilton fays, that this able man, who had ingratiated himfelf with the emperor of Japan, had obtained leave to build a houfe for his mafters on the ifland where the factory ftood which was under his direction. This building proved to be a caftle. The natives, who knew nothing of fortification, did not entertain any fufpicion of it. They furprized fome pieces of cannon that were fending from *Batavia*, and informed the court of what was going forward. Caron was ordered to repair to Jeddo, to give an account of his conduct. As he had nothing reafonable to alledge in his vindication, he was treated with great feverity and contempt. They plucked off his beard by the roots, put him on a fool's cap and coat, and in this condition expofed him to the infults of the populace, and he was banifhed from the empire. The reception he met with at Java gave him a difguft againft the interefts he had efpoufed; and, actuated by revenge, he went over to the French, and became their agent.

* On an average about 1,116,000l.

Surat,

Attack of the French upon the iſlands of Ceylon and St Thomas. Their ſettlement at Pondicherry.

Surat, where they had fixed him, did not anſwer his idea of a chief ſettlement. He diſliked the ſituation; he lamented his being obliged to purchaſe his ſafety by ſubmiſſion; he foreſaw it would be a diſadvantage to carry on trade in competition with richer nations, who knew more, and were held in greater eſteem than themſelves. He wiſhed to find an independent port in the center of India, or in ſome of the ſpice iſlands, without which he thought it impoſſible for any company to ſupport itſelf. The Bay of Trinquimale in the iſland of Ceylon appeared to him to unite all theſe advantages, and he accordingly ſailed for that place with a powerful ſquadron, which had been ſent him from Europe under the command of La Haye, who was to act under his direction. The French believed, or feigned to believe, that a ſettlement might be made there without encroaching upon the rights of the Dutch, whoſe property had never been acknowledged by the ſovereign of the iſland, with whom they had entered into a treaty.

All that they alledged might indeed be true, but the event did not anſwer their expectation. They divulged a project which they ought to have kept a profound ſecret; they executed deliberately an expedition which ought to have been effected by ſurpriſe; they were intimidated by a fleet which was not in a condition to fight, and which could not poſſibly have received orders to hazard an engagement. The greater part of the ſhips crews and of the land forces periſhed by want and ſickneſs; ſome men were left in a ſmall

fort they had erected, where they were soon compelled to surrender, With the remaining few who had survived the hardships of this expedition, they went in search of provisions on the coast of Coromandel; but finding none either at the Danish settlement of Tranquebar, or any where else, impelled by despair they attacked St. Thomas, where they were informed there was great plenty.

This town, which had long been in a flourishing condition, had been built by the Portuguese above a hundred years before. The king of Golconda having conquered the Carnatic, did not see without regret so important a place in foreign hands; he sent his generals to attack it in 1662, and they made themselves masters of it. The fortifications, though considerable and in good repair, did not stop the progress of the French, who took them by storm in 1672. They were soon attacked here, and were forced to surrender two years after; because the Dutch, who were at war with Lewis XIV. joined with the Indians to expel them.

This last event would have entirely ruined the enterprise, after all the expence the government had been at to support the company, had not Martin been one of the merchants sent on board La Haye's squadron. He collected the remains of the two colonies of Ceylon and St. Thomas, and with them he peopled the little town of Pondicherry, that had been lately ceded to him, and was rising to a city, when the company entertained

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ed good hopes of a new ſettlement which they had now an opportunity of forming in India.

Settlement of the French at Siam. Their deſigns on Tonquin and Cochin-china.

SOME miſſionaries had preached the goſpel at Siam. They had gained the love of the people by their doctrine and by their behaviour. Plain, good-natured, and humane men, without intrigue or avarice, they gave no jealouſy to the government nor to the people; they had inſpired them with reſpect and love for the French in general, and in particular for Lewis XIV.

A GREEK, of a reſtleſs and ambitious ſpirit, named Conſtantine Faulkon, in his travels to Siam, had ſo far engaged the affections of the prince, that in a ſhort time he raiſed him to the poſt of prime miniſter, or barcalon, an office which nearly anſwers to the ancient *maires* of the palace of France.

FAULKON governed both the people and the king in the moſt deſpotic manner. The prince was weak, a valetudinarian, and had no iſſue. His miniſter conceived a project to ſucceed him; poſſibly to dethrone him. It is well known that theſe attempts are as eaſy and as frequent in abſolute governments, as they are difficult and uncommon in countries where the prince governs by the rules of juſtice; where the origin and meaſure of his authority is regulated by fundamental and immutable laws, which are under the guardianſhip of numbers of able magiſtrates. There the enemies of the ſovereign ſhew that they are enemies of the ſtate; there they find themſelves ſoon thwarted in their deſigns by all the forces of the nation; becauſe, by rebelling againſt the

 chief,

chief, they rebel against the laws, which are the standing and immutable will of the nation.

FAULKON formed the design of making the French subservient to his scheme, as some ambitious men had formerly made use of a guard of six hundred Japanese, who had often disposed of the crown of Siam. He sent ambassadors into France in 1684 to make a tender of his master's alliance, to offer sea-ports to the French merchants, and to ask for ships and troops.

THE ostentatious vanity of Lewis XIV. took advantage of this embassy. The flatterers of that prince, who was too much extolled, though he deserved commendation, persuaded him that his fame, spread throughout the world, had procured to him the homage of the East. He did not content himself with the enjoyment of these vain honours; but endeavoured to improve the dispositions of the king of Siam to the benefit of the India company, and still more of the missionaries. He sent out a squadron in which there were a greater number of Jesuits than traders; and in the treaty which was concluded between the two kings, the French ambassadors, directed by the Jesuit Tachard, attended much more to the concerns of religion than to those of commerce.

THE company still entertained great hopes of the settlement at Siam, and these hopes were not ill grounded.

THAT kingdom, though divided by a ridge of mountains that is continued till it meets with the rocks of Tartary, is so prodigiously fruitful, that many of its cultivated lands yield two hundred times

times more than others. Some will even bear plentiful crops ſpontaneouſly. The corn, collect-ed as it was at firſt produced, without care and without trouble, left as it were to nature, falls off and periſhes in the field where it grew, in order to vegetate again in the waters of the ſtream that flows through the kingdom.

THERE is, perhaps, no country where fruits grow in ſuch plenty and variety, or are ſo whole-ſome, as in this delightful ſpot. Some are pecu-liar to the country; and thoſe which are equally the produce of other countries have a much finer ſmell, and are much higher flavoured, than in any other part of the world.

THE earth, always covered with theſe treaſures, which are conſtantly ſpringing up afreſh, alſo conceals, under a very thin ſurface, mines of gold, copper, loadſtone, iron, lead, and calin, a ſpecies of tin which is highly valued throughout Aſia.

ALL theſe advantages are rendered uſeleſs by the greateſt tyranny. A prince corrupted by his power, while he is indulging in his ſeraglio, op-preſſes his people by his caprices, or ſuffers them to be oppreſſed by his indolence. At Siam there are no ſubjects, all are ſlaves. The men are divided into three claſſes: the firſt ſerve as a guard to the monarch, till his lands, and are em-ployed in different manufactures in his palace. The ſecond are appointed to public labours, and to the defence of the ſtate. The third claſs are deſtined to ſerve the magiſtrates, the miniſters, and principal officers of the kingdom. No Sia-meſe is advanced to any eminent poſt, but he is allowed

allowed a certain number of men who are at his diſpoſal; ſo that the ſalaries annexed to great officers are well paid at the court of Siam, becauſe they are not paid in money, but in men, who coſt the prince nothing. Theſe unfortunate people are regiſtered at the age of ſixteen. Every one on the firſt ſummons muſt repair to the poſt aſſigned him, upon pain of being put in irons, or condemned to the baſtinado.

In a country where all the men muſt work for the government during ſix months in the year, without being paid or ſubſiſted, and the other ſix to earn a maintenance for the whole year; in ſuch a country, the very lands muſt feel the effects of tyranny, and conſequently there is no property. The delicious fruits that enrich the gardens of the monarch and the nobles, are not ſuffered to ripen in thoſe of private men. If the ſoldiers who are ſent out to examine the orchards diſcover ſome tree laden with choice fruits, they never fail to mark it for the tyrant's table, or that of his miniſters. The owner becomes the guardian of it, and is anſwerable for the fruit under very ſevere penalties.

The men are not only ſlaves to men, but to the very beaſts. The king of Siam keeps a great number of elephants. Thoſe of his palace are taken care of, and have extraordinary honours paid to them. The meaneſt have fifteen ſlaves to attend them, who are conſtantly employed in cutting hay, and gathering bananas and ſugar-canes for them. The king takes ſo much pride in theſe creatures, which are of no real uſe, that he

he eſtimates his power rather by their number than by that of his provinces. Under pretence of feeding theſe animals well, their attendants will drive them into gardens and cultivated lands that they may trample upon them, unleſs the owners will purchaſe an exemption from theſe hardſhips by continual preſents. No man would dare to incloſe his field againſt the king's elephants, many of whom are decorated with honourable titles, and advanced to the higheſt dignities in the ſtate.

Such various exertions of tyranny make the Siameſe deteſt their native country, though they look upon it as the beſt upon earth. Moſt of them fly from oppreſſion into the foreſts, where they lead a ſavage life, infinitely preferable to that of ſociety corrupted by deſpotiſm. So great is this deſertion, that from the port of Mergui to Juthia the capital of the empire, one may travel for a week together without meeting with the leaſt ſign of population, through an immenſe extent of country well watered, the ſoil of which is excellent, and ſtill bears the marks of former culture. This fine country is now over-run with tygers.

It was formerly inhabited by men. Beſides the natives, it was full of ſettlements that had been ſucceſſively formed there by the nations ſituated to the eaſt of Aſia. Their inducement was the immenſe trade carried on there. All hiſtorians atteſt, that in the beginning of the ſixteenth century a great number of ſhips came into their roads every year. The tyranny which prevailed

BOOK IV.

vailed ſoon after ſucceſſively deſtroyed the mines, the manufactures, and agriculture. All the foreign merchants, and even thoſe of the nation, were involved in the ſame ruin. The ſtate fell into confuſion, and conſequently was weakened. The French, on their arrival, found it thus reduced. General poverty prevailed, and none of the arts were exerciſed ; while the people were under the dominion of a deſpotic tyrant, who, engroſſing all the trade to himſelf, muſt of courſe deſtroy it. The few ornaments and articles of luxury that were in uſe at court and in the houſes of the great, came from Japan. The Siameſe held the Japaneſe in high eſtimation, and preferred their works to all others.

It was no eaſy matter to divert them from this attachment, and yet it was the only way of procuring a demand for the produce of French induſtry. If any thing could effect this change, it was the Chriſtian religion, which the prieſts of the foreign miſſions had preached to them, and not without ſucceſs ; but the Jeſuits, too much devoted to Faulkon, who began to be odious, abuſed the favour they enjoyed at Court, and drew upon themſelves the hatred of the people. This odium was transferred from them to their religion. They built churches before there were any chriſtians to frequent them. They founded monaſteries, and by theſe proceedings occaſioned the common people and the Talapoys to revolt. The Talapoys are their monks ; ſome of whom lead a ſolitary life, and others are buſy, intriguing men. They preach to the people the doctrines and precepts of

of Sommona Kodom. That law-giver of the Siamese was long honoured as a ſage, and has ſince been revered as a god, or as an emanation of the deity, a ſon of god. A variety of marvellous ſtories are told of this man: He lived upon one grain of rice a-day. He pulled out one of his eyes to give to a poor man, having nothing elſe to beſtow on him. Another time he gave away his wife. He commanded the ſtars, the rivers, and the mountains. But he had a brother who frequently oppoſed his deſigns for the good of mankind. God avenged him, and crucified that unhappy brother. This fable prejudiced the Siameſe againſt the religion of a crucified God; and they could not worſhip Jeſus Chriſt, becauſe he died the ſame death as the brother of ommona-Kodom.

If the French could not carry their commodities to Siam, they could at leaſt inſpire the people with a taſte for them, prepare the way for a great trade with this country, and avail themſelves of that which actually offered, to open connections with all the eaſt. The ſituation of that kingdom between two gulphs, where it extends one hundred and ſixty leagues along the ſea-coaſt on the one gulph, and about two hundred on the other, would have opened the navigation of all the ſeas in that part of the world. The fortreſs of Bancoc built at the mouth of the Menan, which had been put into the hands of the French, was an excellent mart for all tranſactions they might have had with China, the Philippines, or any of the eaſtern parts of India. Mergui, the principal port of the

the kingdom, and one of the beſt in Aſia, which had likewiſe been ceded to them, greatly facilitated their trade with the coaſt of Coromandel, and chiefly with Bengal. It ſecured to them an advantageous intercourſe with the kingdoms of Pegu, Ava, Arracan and Lagos, countries ſtill more barbarous than Siam, but where are found the fineſt rubies and ſome gold duſt. All theſe countries, as well as Siam, produce the tree which yields that valuable gum, with which the Chineſe and Japaneſe make their varniſh; and whoever is in poſſeſſion of this commodity, may be certain of carrying on a very lucrative trade with China and Japan.

Besides the advantage of meeting with good ſettlements, which were no expence to the company, and might throw into their hands a great part of the trade of the eaſt, they might have brought home from Siam, ivory, logwood like that which is cut in the bay of Campeachy, a great deal of caſſia, and all the buffalo and deer-ſkins that the Dutch formerly fetched from thence. They might have grown pepper there, and, poſſibly, other ſpices which were not to be found in the country, as the people did not underſtand the culture of them, and becauſe the wretched inhabitants of Siam are ſo indifferent to every thing, that nothing ſucceeds with them.

The French paid no attention to theſe objects. The factors of the company, the officers, and the Jeſuits, were equally ignorant of trade: the whole attention of the latter was taken up in converting the natives, and making themſelves maſ-

ters

ters of them. At laſt, after having given but a weak aſſiſtance to Faulkon at the inſtant when he was ready to execute his deſigns, they were involved in his diſgrace; and the fortreſſes of Mergui and Bancoc, defended by French troops, were taken from them by the meaneſt of all nations.

DURING the ſhort time that the French were ſettled at Siam, the company endeavoured to eſtabliſh themſelves at Tonquin. They flattered themſelves that they might trade with ſafety and advantage with a nation which had for ages been inſtructed by the Chineſe. Theiſm prevails among them, which is the religion of Confucius, whoſe precepts and writings are there held in greater veneration than even in China. But there is not the ſame agreement as in China in the principles of government, religion, laws, opinion, rites and ceremonies: And though Tonquin has the ſame law-giver, it is far from having the ſame morals. We find there neither that reſpect for parents, that love for the prince, thoſe reciprocal affections, nor thoſe ſocial virtues which are met with in China; nor have they the ſame good order, police, induſtry or activity.

THIS nation, which is devoted to exceſſive indolence, and is voluptuous without taſte or delicacy, lives in conſtant diſtruſt of its ſovereigns and of ſtrangers. It is doubtful whether this miſtruſt proceeds from a natural reſtleſſneſs of temper, or whether their ſpirit of ſedition be owing to this circumſtance, that the Chineſe ſyſtem of morality has enlightened the people without improving the government. Whatever be the progreſs

grefs of knowledge, whether it comes from the people to the government, or from that to the people, it is neceffary that both fhould be enlightened at the fame time, or elfe the ftate will be expofed to fatal revolutions. In Tonquin, there is a continual ftruggle between the eunuchs who govern, and the people who impatiently bear the yoke. Every thing languifhes and tends to ruin, in confequence of thefe diffentions; and the calamities muft increafe, till the people have compelled their mafters to grow wifer, or the mafters have rendered their fubjects quite infenfible. The Portuguefe and the Dutch, who had attempted to form fome connections in Tonquin, had been forced to give them up. The French were not more fuccefsful. No Europeans have fince carried on that trade, except fome few merchants of Madrafs, who have alternately forfaken and refumed it. They divide with the Chinefe the exportation of copper and ordinary filks, the only commodities of any value that country affords.

COCHINCHINA lay too near Siam not to draw the attention of the French; and they would, probably, have fixed there, had they had fagacity enough to forefee what degree of fplendour that rifing ftate would one day acquire. The Europeans are indebted to a philofophical traveller for what little they know with certainty of that fine country. The following is the refult of his obfervations:

WHEN the French arrived in thofe diftant regions, they learned, that about half a century before, a prince of Tonquin, as he fled from his fovereign

ſovereign who purſued him as a rebel, had with his ſoldiers and adherents croſſed the river, which ſerves as a barrier between Tonquin and Cochin-china. The fugitives, who were warlike and civilized men, ſoon expelled the ſcattered inhabitants, who wandered about without any ſociety or form of government, or any laws but that mutual intereſt which prompted them not to injure one another. Here they founded an empire upon the baſis of agriculture and property. Rice was the food the moſt eaſily cultivated, and the moſt plentiful; upon this, therefore, the new coloniſts beſtowed their firſt attention. The ſea and the rivers attracted a number of inhabitants to their borders, by the ſupply of excellent fiſh they afforded. Domeſtic animals were bred there, ſome for food, and others for labour. The inhabitants cultivated the trees they were moſt in want of, ſuch as the cotton for their clothing. The mountains and foreſts, which could not poſſibly be cultivated, afforded wild fowl, metals, gums, perfumes, and wood of an excellent kind. Theſe productions ſerved as ſo many materials, means and objects of commerce. One hundred gallies were built, which are conſtantly employed in defending the coaſts of the kingdom.

ALL theſe ſeveral advantages were well beſtowed upon a people of a mild and humane diſpoſition, a diſpoſition which they partly owe to their women. Whether it be that this influence they acquire is owing to their beauty, or whether it is the particular effect of their aſſiduity and of their ſkill in buſineſs; in general, it is cer-

BOOK IV.

tain, that in the firſt beginning of all ſocieties, the women are ſooner civilized than the men. Even their weakneſs, and their ſedentary life, their being more taken up with fewer cares, furniſh them ſooner with that knowledge and experience, and incline them to thoſe domeſtic attachments which are the firſt promoters and ſtrongeſt ties of ſociety. This is, perhaps, the reaſon why, in many ſavage nations, the women are intruſted with the adminiſtration of civil government, which is but a higher degree of domeſtic oeconomy. So long as the ſtate is but as one great family, the women are capable of undertaking the management of it. Then, undoubtedly, the people are happieſt, eſpecially in a climate where nature has left but little for man to do.

Such is the climate of Cochinchina. The people, though but imperfectly civilized, enjoy that happineſs which might excite the envy of more improved ſocieties. They have neither robbers nor beggars. Every one is at liberty to live at his own houſe, or at his neighbour's. A traveller freely enters a houſe in any village, ſits down to table, eats and drinks, without being invited or aſked any queſtions, and then goes away without acknowledging the civility. He is a man, and therefore a friend and relation of the family. If he were a foreigner, he would excite more curioſity, but would be equally welcome.

These cuſtoms are the relics of the government of the firſt ſix kings of Cochinchina, and derived from the original contract entered into between the nation and their leader, before they

croſſed

croſſed the river that divides Tonquin from Cochinchina. Theſe men were weary of oppreſſion. They dreaded the like calamity, and therefore took care to guard againſt the abuſe of authority, which is ſo apt to tranſgreſs its due limits, if not kept under ſome reſtraint. Their chief, who had ſet them an example of liberty, and taught them to revolt, promiſed them that felicity which he himſelf choſe to enjoy; that of a juſt, mild and parental government. He cultivated with them the land in which they had all taken refuge. He never demanded any thing of them, except an annual and voluntary contribution, to enable him to defend the nation againſt the tyrant of Tonquin, who, for a long time, purſued them beyond the river which ſeparated them from him.

THIS primitive contract was religiouſly obſerved for upwards of a century, under five or ſix ſucceſſors of that brave deliverer: but at laſt it has been infringed. The reciprocal and ſolemn engagement between the king and his people is ſtill renewed every year in the face of heaven and earth, in a general aſſembly of the whole nation, held in an open field, where the oldeſt man preſides, and where the king only aſſiſts as a private perſon. He ſtill honours and protects agriculture, but does not, like his predeceſſors, ſet the example of labour to his ſubjects. When he ſpeaks of them, he ſtill ſays, *they are my children*; but they are no longer ſo. His courtiers have ſtiled themſelves his ſlaves, and have given him the pompous and ſacrilegious title of *king of heaven*. From that moment, men muſt have appeared to him

but as ſo many inſects creeping on the ground. The gold which he has taken out of the mines, has put a ſtop to agriculture. He has deſpiſed the homely roof of his anceſtors, and would build a palace. Its circumference has been marked out, and is a league in extent. Thouſands of cannon planted round the walls of this palace, make it formidable to the people. A deſpotic monarch reſides there, who in a ſhort time will be ſecluded from the eyes of the people; and this concealment, which characteriſes the majeſty of eaſtern kings, will ſubſtitute the tyrant to the father of the nation.

THE diſcovery of gold has brought on that of taxes; and the adminiſtration of the finances will ſoon take place of civil legiſlation and ſocial contract. Contributions are no longer voluntary, but are extorted. Deſigning men go to the king's palace, and craftily obtain the privilege of plundering the provinces. With gold they at once purchaſe a right of committing crimes, and the privilege of impunity: they bribe the courtiers, elude the vigilance of the magiſtrates, and oppreſs the huſbandmen. The traveller already ſees, as he paſſes along, fallow grounds, and whole villages forſaken by their inhabitants. This *king of heaven*, like the gods of Epicurus, careleſsly ſuffers plagues and calamities to vex the land. He is ignorant of the ſufferings and diſtreſſes of his people, who will ſoon fall into a ſtate of annihilation, like the ſavages whoſe territories they now poſſeſs. All nations governed by deſpotiſm muſt inevitably periſh in this manner. If Cochinchina relapſes

relapſes into that ſtate of confuſion out of which it emerged about a hundred and fifty years ago, it will be wholly diſregarded by the navigators who now frequent the ports of that kingdom. The Chineſe, who carry on the greateſt trade there, get in exchange for their own commodities wood for ſmall work, and timber for building houſes and ſhips.

THEY alſo export from thence an immenſe quantity of ſugar, the raw at four livres * a hundred weight, the white at eight †, and ſugar-candy at ten ‡: very good ſilk, ſattins, and pitre, the fibres of a tree, not unlike the banana, which they fraudulently mix in their manufactures: black and ordinary tea, which ſerves for the conſumption of common people: ſuch excellent cinnamon, that it ſells three or four times dearer than that of Ceylon. There is but a ſmall quantity of this; as it grows only upon one mountain, which is always ſurrounded with guards. Excellent pepper is another article; and ſuch pure iron, that they work it as it comes out of the mine, without ſmelting: gold of three and twenty carrats, which is found there in greater plenty than in any other part of the Eaſt: eagle-wood, which is more or leſs eſteemed as it is more or leſs reſinous. The pieces that contain moſt of this roſin are commonly taken from the heart, or from the root of the tree. They are called calunbac, and are always ſold for their weight in gold to the Chineſe, who account them the higheſt cordial in

* 3s. 6d. † 7s. ‡ 8s. 9d.

 nature.

nature. They are carefully preferved in pewter-boxes, to keep them from drying. When they are to be adminiftered they are ground upon a marble, with fuch liquids as are beft fuited to the diforder they are intended to remove. The inferior eagle-wood, which always fells for a hundred livres* a pound at leaft, is carried to Perfia, Turkey, and Arabia. They ufe it to perfume their cloaths, and fometimes their apartments, upon very extraordinary occafions, and then they mix it with amber. It is alfo ufed for another purpofe. A cuftom prevails among thefe nations, when they are defirous of fhewing their vifitors great marks of civility, to prefent them with pipes, then with coffee and fweetmeats. When converfation begins to grow languid, the fherbet is brought in, which is looked upon as a hint to depart. As foon as the ftranger rifes to go away, they bring in a little pan with eagle-wood, and perfume his beard, fprinkling it with rofe-water.

THOUGH the French, who had fcarce any thing elfe to bring but cloth, lead, gunpowder, and brimftone, were obliged to trade with Cochin-china chiefly in money, yet they were under a neceffity of purfuing this trade in competition with the Chinefe. This inconvenience might have been obviated by the profit that would have been made upon goods fent to Europe, or fold in India; but it is now too late to attempt it. Probity and honefty, the effentials of an active and lafting trade, are forfaking thefe regions, which were

* 4l. 7s. 6d.

formerly

formerly ſo flouriſhing, in proportion as the government becomes arbitrary, and conſequently unjuſt. In a ſhort time no greater number of ſhips will be ſeen in their harbours than in thoſe of the neighbouring ſtates, where they were ſcarcely known.

HOWEVER this may be, the French company driven from Siam, and without hopes of ſettling at the extremities of Aſia, began to regret their factory at Surat, where they dared not appear again, ſince they had left it without paying their debts. They had loſt the only market they knew of for their cloths, their lead, and their iron; and they were continually at a loſs in the purchaſe of goods to anſwer the capricious demands of the mother country, and the wants of the colonies. By fulfilling all their former engagements, they might have recovered the privilege they had forfeited. The Mogul government, which would have wiſhed to ſee a greater number of ſhips reſorting to Surat, often ſolicited the French to ſatisfy theſe claims; for they preferred them to the Engliſh, who had purchaſed of the court an exemption from all duties. Whether it was for want of honeſty, of ſkill, or of means, certain it is that the company never could remove the reproach they had incurred. They confined their whole attention to the fortifying of Pondicherry, when they were ſuddenly prevented by a bloody war, which was owing to remote cauſes.

The loſs and recovery of Pondicherry, which became the chief ſettlement in India.

THE northern Barbarians who had overturned the Roman empire, that was miſtreſs of the world, eſtabliſhed a form of government which

 would

would not admit of augmenting their conqueſts, and kept every ſtate within its natural limits. The abolition of the feudal laws, and the alterations conſequent upon it, ſeemed to tend a ſecond time to eſtabliſh a kind of univerſal monarchy; but the Auſtrian power, weakened by the great extent of its poſſeſſions and their diſtance from each other, could not ſubvert the bulwarks that were raiſing againſt it. After a whole century paſſed in conteſts, hopes, and diſappointments, it was forced to yield to a nation, whoſe ſtrength, poſition, and activity rendered her more formidable to the liberties of Europe. Richelieu and Mazarine began this revolution by their intrigues. Turenne and Condé completed it by their victories. Colbert ſettled it by the introduction of arts, and of all kinds of induſtry. If Lewis XIV. who may be ſaid to have been not, perhaps, the greateſt monarch of his age, but one who beſt ſupported the dignity of the throne, had been more moderate in the exerciſe of his power, and the ſenſe of his grandeur, it is difficult to determine how far he might have carried his good fortune. His vanity proved detrimental to his ambition. After bending his own ſubjects to his will, he wanted to exert power over his neighbours. His pride raiſed him more enemies than his influence and his genius could ſupply him with allies and reſources.

He was delighted with the flatteries of his panegyriſts and courtiers, who promiſed him univerſal monarchy; and the pleaſure he took in theſe adulations contributed ſtill more than the extent

of his power to inſpire a dread of univerſal conqueſt and ſlavery. The diſtreſſes and invectives of his proteſtant ſubjects diſperſed by a tyrannical fanaticiſm, completed the hatred he had incurred by his ſucceſſes, and the abuſe he had made of his proſperity.

The Prince of Orange, a man of a ſteady, upright diſpoſition, and of a penetrating judgment, endowed with every virtue that is conſiſtent with ambition, became the chief inſtigator of all theſe reſentments, which he had long fomented by his negociations and his emiſſaries. France was attacked by the moſt formidable confederacy recorded in hiſtory, and yet ſhe was conſtantly triumphant.

She was not ſo ſucceſsful in Aſia as in Europe. The Dutch firſt endeavoured to prevail upon the natives to attack Pondicherry, which they could never be compelled to reſtore. The Indian prince, to whom they applied for that purpoſe, was not to be bribed to agree to ſo perfidious a propoſal. His conſtant anſwer was, *The French have bought that place, it would be unjuſt to turn them out.* What the Raja refuſed to do, the Dutch did themſelves. They beſieged the town in 1693, and were obliged to reſtore it at the peace of Ryſwick, in a much better condition than they found it.

Martin was again appointed director, and managed the affairs of the company with that wiſdom, ſkill, and integrity, which was expected from him. That able and virtuous merchant invited many new ſettlers to Pondicherry, and made the

the place agreeable to them, by the good order he maintained there, and by his moderation and juſtice. He acquired the favour of the neighbouring princes, whoſe friendſhip was of conſequence to an infant ſettlement. He choſe or formed good ſubjects, whom he ſent to the markets of Aſia, and to the ſeveral princes of that empire. He had perſuaded the French, that as they were come laſt to India, that as they found themſelves there in a weak condition, and could not expect any aſſiſtance from their own country, that they had no other way of ſucceeding, but by inſpiring the natives with a favourable opinion of their character. He made them lay aſide that levity, and thoſe contemptuous airs, which ſo often make their nation inſufferable to ſtrangers. They grew modeſt, gentle, and attentive to buſineſs; they learned the art of behaving ſuitable to the genius of the ſeveral nations, and to particular circumſtances. Thoſe who did not confine themſelves to the company's ſervice, frequenting different courts, became acquainted with the places where the fineſt ſtuffs were manufactured, the ſtaples where the choiceſt commodities were to be met with, and, in ſhort, with all the particulars relative to the inland trade of every country.

All that Martin had it in his power to accompliſh, was to lay the foundation of future ſucceſs to the company, by the good opinion he gave of the French, by the pains he took to train up agents, by the informations he gained, and by the good order he maintained in Pondicherry, which daily acquired new inhabitants; but all this

this was not ſufficient to reſtore the declining ſtate of the company, ſubject from it's infancy to ſuch diſorders as muſt at length certainly deſtroy it.

Decline of the French company, and the cauſe of it.

HIS firſt ſcheme was to eſtabliſh a great empire at Madagaſcar. A ſingle voyage carried over 1688 perſons, who were made to expect a delightful climate and a rapid fortune, and found nothing but famine, diſcord and death.

So unfortunate a beginning diſcouraged the adventurers from an undertaking, which they had entered upon merely with a view to follow the example of others, or in compliance with ſolicitations. The owners of ſhares had not made good their payments with ſo much punctuality as is required in commercial affairs. The government, which had engaged to advance without intereſt a fifth part of the ſums the company were to receive, and which as yet was only bound to furniſh two millions *, again drew the ſame ſum out of the public treaſury, in hopes of ſupporting the work it had begun. Some time after its generoſity was carried ſtill further, and freely gave what at firſt was only lent.

THIS encouragement from the miniſtry could not, however, enable the company to proceed in their deſigns. They were forced to confine them to Surat and Pondicherry; and to abandon their ſettlements at Bantam, Rajapore, Tilſeri, Mazulipatam, Gombroon and Siam. No doubt they had too many factories, and ſome were ill ſituated; but the inability they were under of ſup-

* 87,500l.

porting

porting them was the only reafon that they were abandoned.

Soon after this, it became neceffary to make further advances. In 1682, they gave permiffion indifcriminately to French fubjects and foreigners to trade to the Eaft-Indies for five years on the company's fhips, paying the freight that fhould be agreed upon; and on condition that the goods brought home fhould be depofited in the company's warehoufes, fold at the fame time with theirs, and be fubject to a duty of five per cent. The public fo eagerly came into this propofal, that the directors entertained great hopes from the increafe of thefe fmall profits, which would be conftant without any rifque. But the proprietors, lefs fenfible of thefe moderate advantages, than jealous of the great profits made by the free traders, in two years time obtained a repeal of this regulation, and their charter remained in full force.

To fupport this monopoly with fome decency, a fund was wanting. In 1684, the company obtained from government a call upon all the proprietors, amounting to a fourth part of their property; and in cafe any one failed to pay the fum required, his whole fhare was to be made over to any one who fhould pay it for him. Whether from perverfenefs, from particular motives, or from inability, many did not pay, fo that their fhares loft three fourths of their original value; and to the difgrace of the nation, there were men barbarous and unjuft enough to enrich themfelves with their fpoils.

An

An expedient fo dishonourable enabled them to fit out a few fhips for Afia; but new wants were foon felt. Their cruel fituation, which continually grew worfe, put them upon demanding of the proprietors in 1697, the reftitution of the dividends of ten and twenty per cent. which they had received in 1687 and 1691. So extraordinary a propofal raifed a general clamour. The company were obliged to have recourfe to the ufual method of borrowing. Thefe loans became more burdenfome, the more they were multiplied, as the fecurity was more precarious.

As the company was in want both of money and credit, the emptinefs of their coffers put it out of their power to afford thofe advantages and that encouragement to the merchant in India, without which he will neither work, nor fet others to work. This inability reduced the French fales to nothing. It is demonftrable, that from 1664 to 1684, that is, in the fpace of twenty years, the fum total of their produce did not exceed nine millions one hundred thoufand livres *.

To thefe had been added other abufes. The conduct of the adminiftrators and agents for the company had not been properly directed, or carefully looked into. The capital had been broken into, and dividends paid out of the ftock, which ought only to have arifen from the profits. The leaft brilliant and leaft profperous of all reigns had exhibited a model for a commercial company. The trade to China, the eafieft, the

* 398,125l.

fafeft,

BOOK IV.

ſafeſt, and the moſt advantageous that is carried on with Aſia, had been given up to a particular body of merchants.

THE bloody war of 1689 added to the calamities of the India company, even by the very ſucceſſes of France. Swarms of privateers, fitted out from the ſeveral harbours in the kingdom, annoyed by their vigilance and bravery the trade of Holland and England. In their numberleſs prizes were found a prodigious quantity of India goods, which were retailed at a low price. The company, who by this competition were forced to ſell under prime coſt, endeavoured to find out ſome expedient to ſave themſelves from this danger, but could think of none that was reconcileable with the intereſt of the privateers, nor did the miniſter think proper to ſacrifice an uſeful ſet of men to a body, which had ſo long wearied him with their murmurs and complaints.

BESIDES theſe, the company had many more cauſes of diſcontent. The financiers had ſhewn an open hatred for them, and were continually oppoſing or confining them. Supported by thoſe vile aſſociates which they always have at court, they endeavoured to put an end to the India trade, under the ſpecious pretence of encouraging the home manufactures. The government was at firſt afraid of being expoſed to reproach, by departing from the principles of Colbert, and repealing the moſt ſolemn edicts; but the farmers of the revenue found means to render thoſe privileges uſeleſs, which the miniſtry would

not

not abolifh; and the company no longer enjoyed, without being abfolutely deprived of them.

HEAVY duties were fucceffively laid upon all India goods. Half a year feldom paffed, without fome new regulation, fometimes to allow, fometimes to prohibit the ufe of thefe commodities: there was a continued fcene of contradictions in a part of adminiftration, that would have required fteady and invariable principles. All thefe variations gave Europe room to think that trade would hardly be eftablifhed in a kingdom where all depends upon the caprices of a minifter, or the interefts of thofe who govern.

THE conduct of an ignorant and corrupt adminiftration, the levity and impatience of the proprietors, the interefted views of the comptrollers of finance, the oppreffive fpirit of the treafury, joined to other caufes, had prepared the ruin of the company. The miferies of the war carried on for the Spanifh fucceffion haftened their deftruction.

EVERY refource was exhaufted. The moft fanguine faw no profpect of their being able to fend out a fleet. Befides, if by unexpected good fortune fome few weak veffels fhould be fitted out, it was to be feared they might be feized in Europe, or in India, by difappointed creditors, who muft neceffarily be exafperated. Thefe powerful motives determined the company in 1707, to confent that fome rich merchants fhould fend their own fhips to India, upon condition that they fhould allow the company fifteen per cent. profit upon the goods they fhould bring home, and the right of taking fuch fhare in thofe fhips as their circumftances

cumſtances ſhould admit of. Soon after this, they were even reduced to make over the whole and excluſive exerciſe of their privilege to ſome privateers of St. Malo, ſtill reſerving the ſame conceſſion, which for ſome years paſt had in ſome degree kept them from ruin.

NOTWITHSTANDING this deſperate ſituation, in 1714 they ſolicited the renewal of their charter, which was nearly expired, and which they had enjoyed for half a century. The miniſtry, who did not know, or would not perceive that meaſures more prudential might be adopted, granted them an indulgence for ten years longer. This new regulation took place but in part, in conſequence of ſome extraordinary events, the cauſes of which we ſhall next inquire into.

The French company recovers ſomething of its ancient ſplendour by Law's ſyſtem; but ſoon relapſes into obſcurity.

WHOEVER has been accuſtomed to trace the progreſs of empires, has always conſidered the death of Colbert as the event that put an end to the true proſperity of France. She ſtill appeared with ſome outward ſplendour, but her inward decay increaſed daily. Her finances, adminiſtered without order or principle, fell a prey to a multitude of rapacious farmers of the revenue. Theſe people made themſelves neceſſary even by their plunders, and went ſo far as to impoſe terms to government. The confuſion, uſury, and continual alterations in the coin, the reductions of intereſt, the alienations of the domain and of the taxes, engagements which it was impoſſible to fulfil, the creation of penſions and places, the privileges and exemptions of all kinds, and a thouſand other evils, each more ruinous than

than the other, were the confequences of fo corrupt an adminiftration.

The lofs of credit foon became univerfal. Bankruptcies were more frequent. Money grew fcarce, and trade was at a ftand. The confumption was lefs. The culture of lands was neglected. Artifts went over to foreign countries. The common people had neither food nor cloathing. The nobility ferved in the army without pay, and mortgaged their lands. All orders of men groaned under the weight of taxes, and were in want of the neceffaries of life. The royal effects had loft their value. The contracts upon the *hotel de ville* fold but for half their worth, and the bills of fale fell eighty or ninety per cent. under par. Lewis XIV. a little before his death, was in great want of eight millions *; and was forced to give bonds for 32,000,000 †, which was borrowing at four hundred per cent.

In this confufion were public affairs, when the Duke of Orleans took the reins of government. Thofe who were for violent meafures, propofed to facrifice the creditors of the ftate to the landholders, as the former were in proportion to the latter but as one to fix hundred. The regent refufed to come into a meafure that would have ftamped an indelible ftain upon his adminiftration. He preferred an inquiry into the public engagements to a total bankruptcy.

Notwithstanding the reduction of 600,000,000 ‡ of ftock to bearer, to 250,000,000 § of govern-

* 350,000l. † 1,400,000l. ‡ 26,250,000l. § 10,937,500l.

ment bonds, the national debt amounted to 262,138,001 livres * at twenty-eight livres † the mark, the intereſt of which, at four per cent. amounted to 89.983,453 livres ‡.

THIS enormous debt, which nearly abſorbed the whole of the public revenue, ſuggeſted the idea of appointing a bed of juſtice to call thoſe to account who had been the authors of the public calamities, and had enriched themſelves with the ſpoils of the nation. This inquiry only ſerved to expoſe to public view the incapacity of the miniſters who had been intruſted with the management of the finances, the craft of the farmers of the revenue who had ſwallowed them up, and the baſeneſs of the courtiers who had ſold their intereſt to the firſt bidder. By this experiment, honeſt minds were confirmed in the abhorrence they always had for ſuch a tribunal. It degrades the dignity of the prince who fails to fulfil his engagements, and expoſes to the people the vices of a corrupt adminiſtration. It is injurious to the rights of the citizen, who is accountable for his actions to none but the law. It ſtrikes terror into the rich, who are marked out as delinquents, merely becauſe they are rich, be their fortunes well or ill gotten. It gives encouragement to informers, who point out as fit objects for tyranny, ſuch as it may be advantageous to ruin. It is compoſed of unmerciful leeches, who ſee guilt wherever they ſuſpect there is money. It ſpares plunderers, who find means to

* 90,218,537l. 11s. † 1l. 4s. 6d. ‡ 3,936,776l. 1s. 4d. ½.

ſecrete

ſecrete their wealth in time; and ſpoils honeſt men who think themſelves ſecure in their innocence. It ſacrifices the intereſts of the treaſury to the whims of a few greedy, profligate and extravagant favourites.

WHILE France was exhibiting to all Europe the cruel and diſgraceful ſpectacle of theſe complicated evils, a Scotch empiric arrived at Paris, who for ſome time had been travelling about, and making a diſplay of his talents, hurried on by his own reſtleſs diſpoſition. His fiery genius and peremptory manner were capable of bearing down every argument, and ſurmounting every difficulty. In 1716 he ſuggeſted the idea of a bank, the ſucceſs of which confounded his opponents, and even exceeded his own expectations. With ninety millions * that the Weſt India company furniſhed towards this bank, it gave new life to agriculture, to trade, to arts, in ſhort, to the whole nation. The author was extolled as an accurate, extenſive and elevated genius, who deſpiſed fortune, aimed only at glory, and wanted to tranſmit his name to poſterity by great actions. Such was the gratitude of the public, that he was thought to deſerve the higheſt honours. This aſtoniſhing proſperity gave him an unlimited authority. He made uſe of it in 1719 to unite the Eaſt and Weſt India companies, as likewiſe thoſe of Africa and China into one body. Commercial ſchemes were the leaſt concern of the new ſociety. They carried their ambition ſo far as to pretend

* 3,937,500l.

 to

BOOK IV.

to pay off all the national debt. The government granted them the ſole vending of tobacco, the mint, the receipts and general farms, to enable them to purſue ſo grand a project.

At firſt, Law's ſchemes met with univerſal approbation. Six hundred and twenty-four thouſand ſhares, moſtly bought with government bills, and which upon an average did not really coſt 500 livres *, roſe to 10,000 livres †, payable in bank notes. Such was the infatuation of the public, that not only Frenchmen but foreigners, and even the moſt ſenſible people, ſold their ſtock, their lands, their jewels, to play this extraordinary game. Gold and ſilver were held in no eſtimation; and nothing but paper currency was ſought after.

This frenzy multiplied paper credit to ſuch an amazing degree, that it circulated to the amount of 6,138,243,590 livres ‡, in ſhares of India ſtock, or in bank notes, though there was actually in the kingdom no more than twelve hundred millions § in ſpecie, at ſixty livres a mark ||.

Such diſproportion might poſſibly have been ſupported in a free nation, where it had been brought on by degrees. The citizens accuſtomed to conſider the nation as a permanent and independent body, truſt to its ſecurity the more readily, as they are ſeldom thoroughly acquainted with its powers, and have a good opinion of its

* 21l. 17s. 6d.
† 437l. 10s.
‡ 268,548,157l. 1s. 3d.
§ 52,500,000l.
|| 2l. 12s. 6d.

equity

equity founded on experience. Upon the ſtrength of this favourable prejudice, credit is often ſtretched in thoſe ſtates beyond the real reſources and ſecurities of the nation. This is not the caſe in an abſolute monarchy, eſpecially ſuch as have often broken their engagements. If in times of public infatuation an implicit confidence is ſhewn, the effect ceaſes with the cauſe. Their inſolvency becomes evident. The honeſty of the monarch, the mortgage, the ſtock, every thing appears imaginary. The creditor, recovered from his delirium, demands his money with a degree of impatience proportionable to his uneaſineſs. The hiſtory of the ſyſtem will corroborate this truth.

In order to anſwer the firſt demands, the government had recourſe to very extraordinary expedients. Gold was prohibited in trade; all perſons were forbidden to keep by them more than five hundred livres * in ſpecie. An edict was publiſhed, declaring ſeveral ſucceſſive diminutions in the value of the coin. This had the deſired effect; people were now not ſo anxious to draw their money from the bank; on the contrary, in leſs than a month they brought in ſpecie to the amount of forty-four million ſix hundred ninety-ſix thouſand one hundred and ninety livres † in ſpecie, at eighty livres ‡ a mark.

As this infatuation could not be laſting, it was judged expedient to leſſen the diſproportion between paper-currency and money, by reducing

* 21l. 17s. 6d. † 1,955,458l. 6s. 3d. ‡ 3l. 10s.

the bank bills to half their value, and the ſhares to five-ninths. The ſtandard for the coin was fixed at eighty-two livres ten ſols* a mark. This ſcheme, the moſt rational, perhaps, that could have been deviſed in the critical ſituation of affairs, completed the general confuſion. The conſternation was univerſal; every one imagined he had loſt half his fortune, and haſtened to call in the remainder. The bank had no ſtock, and the ſtock-brokers found they had only been graſping at ſhadows. The foreigners, who had realized their paper at firſt, and carried off one-third of the ready money of the kingdom, were the leaſt loſers. The hopes which the government had conceived of paying off the national debt diſappeared with Law, and there remained no laſting monument of the ſyſtem, but an India Company, whoſe ſhares were fixed by the liquidation of 1723, to the number of fifty-ſix thouſand, but by ſubſequent events were reduced to fifty thouſand two hundred ſixty-eight and four-tenths.

Unfortunately it preſerved the privileges of the ſeveral companies out of which it had been formed; and this prerogative added neither to its wiſdom or power: it confined the negro trade, and ſtopped the progreſs of the ſugar colonies. Moſt of its privileges ſerved only to authoriſe odious monopolies. The moſt fertile regions upon earth, when occupied by the company, were neither peopled nor cultivated. The ſpirit

* 3l. 12s. 2d. ¼.

of

of finance, which reftrains purfuits as much as the commercial fpirit enlarges them, became the fpirit of the company, and has continued ever fince. The directors thought only of turning to their own advantage the rights ceded to the company in Afia, Africa, and America. It became a fociety of contractors, rather than a trading company. Nothing could poffibly be faid in praife of their adminiftration, had they not been fo honeft as to pay off the debts accumulated in India for a century paft; and taken care to fecure Pondicherry againft any invafion, by furrounding it with walls. Their trade was but fmall and precarious till Orry was appointed to fuperintend the finances of the nation.

Great fucces of the French in India.

THAT upright and difinterefted minifter fullied his virtues, by a harfhnefs of temper which he apologized for in a manner not much to the credit of the nation. One day that a friend was reproaching him for the roughnefs of his manners, he anfwered, *How can I behave otherwife? Out of a hundred people I fee in a day, fifty take me for a fool, and fifty for a knave.* He had a brother named Fulvy, who was lefs rigid in his principles, but had more affability, and greater capacity. He intrufted him with the concerns of the company, which could not but flourifh under fuch a direction.

NOTWITHSTANDING the former prejudices and thofe which ftill prevailed; notwithftanding the abhorrence the public had for any remains of Law's fyftem; notwithftanding the authority of the Sorbonne, which had decided that the divi-

dend upon the ſhares came under the denomination of uſury; notwithſtanding the blindneſs of a nation credulous enough not to be ſhocked at ſo abſurd a deciſion; yet ſtill the two brothers found means to convince Cardinal Fleury that it was proper to ſupport the India Company in an effectual manner. They even prevailed upon that miniſter, who was ſometimes too parſimonious, to laviſh the king's favours upon this eſtabliſhment. The care of ſuperintending its trade and increaſing its powers, was afterwards committed to ſeveral perſons of known abilities.

Dumas was ſent to Pondicherry. He ſoon obtained leave of the court of Dehli to coin money; which privilege was worth four or five hundred thouſand livres* a year. He obtained a ceſſion of the territory of Karical, which entitled him to a conſiderable ſhare in the trade of Tanjour. Some time after, a hundred thouſand Marattas invaded the Decan. They attacked the Nabob of Arcot, who was vanquiſhed and ſlain. His family and ſeveral of his ſubjects took refuge in Pondicherry. They were received with all the kindneſs due to allies in diſtreſs. Ragogi Bouſſola, the general of the victorious army, demanded, that they ſhould be delivered up to him, and further required the payment of 1,200,000 livres† by virtue of a tribute, which he pretended the French had formerly ſubmitted to.

Dumas made anſwer, That ſo long as the Moguls had been maſters of that country, they had

* About 19,700 l. on an average. † 52,500 l.

always

always treated the French with the respect due to one of the most illustrious nations in the world, which took a pride in her turn in protecting her benefactors; that it was contrary to the character of that magnanimous nation to deliver up a number of women and children, and of unfortunate and defenceless men, to see them put to death; that the fugitives then in the town were under the protection of his king, who esteemed it his highest honour to be the protector of the distressed; that every Frenchman in Pondicherry would gladly die in their defence; and that his own life was forfeited, if his sovereign were to know that he had so much as listened to the mention of a tribute. He added, that he was ready to defend the place to the last extremity, and if he was overpowered, he would get on board his ships, and return to Europe: that Ragogi might consider whether he chose to expose his army to utter destruction, when the greatest advantage that could be obtained by it was to take possession of a heap of ruins.

THE Indians had not been accustomed to hear the French talk with so much dignity. This boldness staggered the general of the Marattas, and after some negociations skilfully carried on, he determined to keep peace with Pondicherry.

WHILST Dumas was procuring wealth and respect to the company, the government sent la Bourdonnais to the Isle of France.

THE Portuguese, at the time of their first voyages to India, had discovered to the east of Madagascar, between the 19th and 20th degrees of latitude,

latitude, three iſlands, to which they gave the names of Maſcarenhas, Cerné and Rodrigue. There they found neither men nor quadrupeds, and attempted no ſettlement upon either of the iſlands. The moſt weſtern of them, which had been called Maſcarenhas, ſerved as a refuge about the year 1665 to ſome Frenchmen, who before were ſettled at Madagaſcar. There they found an extent of ſixty miles in length and forty-five in breadth, full of mountains, and but few plains. At firſt they bred cattle, and afterwards they cultivated European corn, Aſiatic and African fruits, and ſome vegetables fit for that mild climate. The health, plenty and freedom they enjoyed, induced ſeveral ſailors belonging to the ſhips that touched there for refreſhments, to come and live amongſt them. Induſtry brought on population. In 1718, they procured ſome coffee-trees from Arabia, which ſucceeded tolerably well, though the fruit had loſt much of its flavour. This culture, and other laborious employments, were performed by ſlaves from the coaſt of Africa, or from Madagaſcar. Then the iſland, which had changed its name from Maſcarenhas to the iſle of Bourbon, became an important object to the company. In 1763, the population amounted to 4627 white people, and 15149 blacks; the cattle conſiſted of 8702 beeves, 4084 ſheep, 7405 goats, 7619 hogs. Upon an extent of 125909 acres of cultivated land, they gathered as much caſſava as would feed their ſlaves, 1135000 pounds weight of corn, 844100 pounds of rice, 2879100 pounds of maize, and 2535100

2 pounds

pounds of coffee, which the company bought up at ſix ſols* a pound.

UNFORTUNATELY this valuable poſſeſſion has no harbour. This inconvenience determined the French to attempt a ſettlement on the iſland of Cerné, where the Portugueſe had, as uſual, left ſome quadrupeds and fowls for the benefit of ſuch of their ſhips as ſhould chance to touch there. The Dutch, who afterwards took poſſeſſion of it, forſook it from an apprehenſion of multiplying their ſettlements too much. The iſland was uninhabited when the French landed there in 1720, and changed its name from Mauritius to the Iſle of France, which it ſtill bears.

THE firſt people that were ſent thither, came over from Bourbon, and there they were forgotten for fifteen years. They only formed as it were a corps de garde, with orders to hang out a French flag, to inform all nations that the iſland had a maſter. The company, long undetermined, decided at laſt for the keeping it, and in 1735 la Bourdonnais was commiſſioned to improve it.

THIS man, who has ſince been ſo famous, was born at St. Malo, and had been at ſea from the age of ten years; all his voyages had been proſperous, and in every one he had ſignalized himſelf by ſome extraordinary action. He had reconciled the Arabs and the Portugueſe, who were preparing to maſſacre one another in the road of Mocha: and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the war at Mahé. He was the firſt Frenchman who

* About 3d.

ever

ever thought of ſending armed veſſels into the Indian ſeas. He was known to be equally ſkilful in the art of ſhip-building, as in that of navigating and defending a ſhip. His ſchemes bore the mark of genius, nor were his views contracted by the cloſe attention he paid to all the minute particulars of whatever ſcheme he undertook. Difficulties did but quicken his activity, and diſplay his talent for diſpoſing the men under his command to the beſt advantage. Nothing was ever laid to his charge but an immoderate paſſion for riches; and it muſt be confeſſed he was not over ſcrupulous as to the means of acquiring them.

He was no ſooner arrived at the Iſle of France, than he made it his buſineſs to acquire every information he could concerning it. He found it to be 31890 toiſes in its greateſt diameter, 22124 in its greateſt breadth, and 432680 acres in ſurface. The greateſt part of this ground was covered with foreſts almoſt impenetrable, and with mountains not exceeding 400 toiſes in height. Moſt of them were full of reſervoirs of water, which poured down in ſtreams upon a dark grey earth, full of perforations, and for the moſt part ſtony.

The ſea coaſt was what la Bourdonnais chiefly attended to, and his principal obſervations related to the two harbours he found there. He thought the harbour on the ſouth-eaſt ſide of little conſequence, on account of the regular and high winds, which make it impoſſible, or at leaſt very difficult, to ſail out of it at any ſeaſon of the year. That on the north-weſt he found far preferable,

ferable, though the ſhips muſt get to it through a narrow channel, between two flats, and then be towed in, and though it will ſcarcely admit above thirty-five or forty ſhips.

As ſoon as la Bourdonnais had procured theſe neceſſary informations, he endeavoured to inſtil a ſpirit of emulation into the firſt coloniſts on the iſland, who were entirely diſcouraged at the neglect with which they had been treated, and attempted to reduce to ſome ſubordination the vagrants lately arrived from the mother country. He made them cultivate rice and wheat, for the good of the Europeans, and caſſava, which he had brought from Brazil, for the ſlaves. They were to be furniſhed from Madagaſcar with meat for the daily conſumption of the richer inhabitants and of ſea-faring men, till the cattle they had procured from thence ſhould multiply ſo conſiderably, as to prevent the neceſſity of importing any more. A poſt which he had eſtabliſhed on the little Iſland of Rodrigue, abundantly ſupplied the poor with turtle. Here, ſhips going to India ſoon found all the refreſhments and conveniences they wanted after a tedious paſſage. Three ſhips were fitted out, one of which carried 500 tons burden. If the founder had not the ſatisfaction of bringing the colony to the utmoſt degree of proſperity it was capable of, at leaſt he had the credit of having diſcovered what degree of importance it might acquire in able hands.

These improvements, however, though they ſeemed to be owing to enchantment, did not meet with the approbation of thoſe who were principally concerned

concerned in them, and la Bourdonnais was compelled to juſtify himſelf. One of the directors was aſking him one day how it happened that he had conducted the affairs of the company ſo ill, while he had taken ſo much care of his own. *Becauſe*, ſaid he, *I have managed mine according to my own judgment, and thoſe of the company according to your directions.*

GREAT men have been always more uſeful to the public, than large collective bodies. Nations and ſocieties are but the inſtruments of men of genius: theſe have been the true founders of ſtates and colonies. Spain, Portugal, Holland and England owe their foreign conqueſts and ſettlements to able warriors, experienced ſeamen, and legiſlators of ſuperior talents. France eſpecially is more indebted to ſome fortunate individuals for the glory ſhe has acquired, than to the form of her government. One of theſe ſuperior men had juſt eſtabliſhed the power of France over two important iſlands in Africa; another ſtill more extraordinary, whoſe name was Dupleix, added ſplendour to the French name in Aſia.

HE was firſt ſent to the banks of the Ganges, where he ſuperintended the colony of Chandernagore. That ſettlement, though formed in a part of the globe the beſt adapted for great commercial undertakings, had been but in a languid ſtate, till he took the management of it. The company was not able to ſend any great ſtock, and the agents who went over there without any of their own, had not been able to avail themſelves of the liberty that was allowed them of advancing their own

own private affairs. The activity of the new governor, who brought an ample fortune, the reward of ten years succefsful labours, soon spread throughout the colony. In a country abounding with money they soon found credit, when once they shewed themselves deserving of it. In a short time, Chandernagore excited the admiration of its neighbours, and the envy of its rivals. Dupleix, who had engaged the rest of the French in his vast speculations, opened fresh sources of commerce all over the Mogul's dominions, and as far as Thibet. On his arrival he had not found a single sloop, and he fitted out fifteen armed vessels at once. These ships carried on trade in different places in India. Some he sent to the Red Sea, to the Gulph of Persia, to Surat, to Goa, to the Maldives, and Manilla Islands, and to all the seas where there was a possibility of trading to advantage.

Dupleix had for twelve years supported the honour of the French name on the Ganges, and increased the revenues of the public as well as the private fortunes of individuals, when he was called to Pondicherry to take upon him the general superintendency of all the company's affairs in India. They were then in a more flourishing condition than they had ever yet been, or have ever been since; for that year the returns amounted to twenty-four millions *. Had they continued to act prudently, had they confided more in two such men as Dupleix and la Bourdonnais, they

* 1,050,000 l.

would

would probably have acquired ſuch power as would *not* have been eaſily deſtroyed.

LA BOURDONNAIS ſaw an approaching rupture with England; and propoſed a ſcheme which would have ſecured to the French the ſovereignty of the ſeas in Aſia, during the whole courſe of the war. He was convinced, that whichever nation ſhould firſt take up arms in India, would have a manifeſt advantage over the other. He therefore deſired to have a ſquadron, with which he ſhould ſail to the Iſle of France, and there wait till hoſtilities began. From this place he was to go and cruize in the ſtraits of Sunda, where moſt of the ſhips paſs that are going to, or coming from China. There he would have intercepted all the Engliſh ſhips, and ſaved thoſe of the French. He would have even taken the ſmall ſquadron which England ſent into thoſe very latitudes, and having thus made himſelf maſter of the Indian ſeas, would have ruined all the Engliſh ſettlements in thoſe parts.

THE miniſtry approved of this plan, and granted him five men of war, with which he ſet ſail.

HE had ſcarcely ſet ſail, when the directors, equally offended at their being kept in the dark as to the deſtination of the ſquadron, and at the expences it had occaſioned them, and jealous of the advantage this would give to a man who, in their opinion, was already too independent, exclaimed againſt this armament as they had done before, and declared it be uſeleſs. They were, or pretended to be, ſo fully convinced of the neutrality that would be obſerved in India between

tween the two companies, that they persuaded the minister into that opinion, when la Bourdonnais was no longer present to animate him, and guide his inexperience.

THE court of Versailles was not aware that a power, supported chiefly by trade, would not easily be induced to leave them in quiet possession of the Indian Ocean; and that if she either made or listened to any proposals of neutrality, it must be only to gain time. It was not aware that, even supposing such an agreement was made *bona fide* on both sides, a thousand unforeseen events might interrupt it. It was not aware, that the object proposed could never be fully answered, because the sea-forces of both nations, not being bound by any private agreement made between two companies, would attack their ships in the European seas. It was not aware, that in the colonies themselves they would make preparations to guard against a surprize; that these precautions would create a mistrust on both sides; and that mistrust would bring on an open rupture. All these particulars were not perceived by the Court, and the squadron was recalled. Hostilities began, and the loss of almost every French ship going to India, shewed too late which of the two was the most judicious system of politics.

LA BOURDONNAIS was as deeply affected for the errors that had occasioned the misfortunes of the nations, as if he had been guilty of them himself, and applied wholly to remedy them. Without magazines, without provisions, without money, he found means by his

G attention

BOOK IV.

attention and perſeverance to form a ſquadron, compoſed of a ſixty gun ſhip, and five merchant-men, which he turned into men of war. He ventured to attack the Engliſh ſquadron; he beat them, purſued and forced them to quit the coaſt of Coromandel; he then beſieged and took Madraſs, the firſt of the Engliſh ſettlements. The victor was preparing for freſh expeditions, which were certain and eaſy; but he met with the moſt violent oppoſition, which not only occaſioned the loſs of the ſum of 9,057,000 livres * he had ſtipulated for as the ranſom of the city, but alſo deprived him of the ſucceſs which muſt neceſſarily have followed his undertakings.

The company was then governed by two of the king's commiſſaries, who were irreconcileable enemies to each other. The directors and the inferior officers had taken part in the quarrel, according as their inclination or their intereſt led them. The two factions were extremely incenſed againſt each other. That which had cauſed la Bourdonnais's ſquadron to be taken from him, was enraged to ſee that he had found reſources in himſelf, to ward off every blow that was aimed at him. There is good reaſon to believe, that this faction purſued him to India, and inſtilled the poiſon of jealouſy into the heart of Dupleix. Two men formed to eſteem and love each other, to adorn the French name, and to deſcend together to poſterity, became the vile tools of an animoſity

* 396,243 l. 15 s.

in

in which they were not the leaſt intereſted. Dupleix oppoſed la Bourdonnais, and made him loſe much time. The latter, after having ſtaid too long on the coaſt of Coromandel, waiting for the ſuccours which had been unneceſſarily delayed, ſaw his ſquadron deſtroyed by a ſtorm. The crews were diſpoſed to mutiny. So many misfortunes brought on by the intrigues of Dupleix, determined la Bourdonnais to return to Europe, where a horrid dungeon was the reward of all his glorious ſervices, and the end of all the hopes which the nation had built upon his great talents. The Engliſh, delivered from that formidable enemy in India, and conſiderably reinforced, found themſelves in a condition to attack the French in their turn, and accordingly laid ſiege to Pondicherry.

Dupleix then made amends for paſt errors. He defended the town with great ſkill and bravery; and after the trenches had been opened ſix weeks, the Engliſh were forced to raiſe the ſiege. The news of the peace arrived ſoon after, and all hoſtilities ceaſed between the companies of both nations.

The taking of Madraſs, la Bourdonnais's engagement at ſea, and the raiſing of the ſiege of Pondicherry, gave the Indian nations a high opinion of the French, and they were reſpected in thoſe parts as the firſt and greateſt of the European powers.

Dupleix endeavoured to avail himſelf of this diſpoſition, and took care to procure laſting and important advantages for his nation. In order to judge

rightly of his projects, we muſt lay before the reader a deſcription of the ſtate of Indoſtan at that time.

View of the French to aggrandize themſelves. Account of Indoſtan.

If we may credit uncertain tradition, that fine rich country tempted the firſt conquerors of the world. But whether Bacchus, Hercules, Seſoſtris, or Darius, did or did not carry their arms through that large portion of the globe, certain it is, that it proved an inexhauſtible fund of fictions and wonders to the antient Greeks. That people, ever credulous, becauſe they were carried away by their imagination, were ſo enchanted with theſe marvelous ſtories, that they ſtill gave credit to them, even in the more enlightened ages of the republic.

If we conſider this matter according to the principles of reaſon and truth, we ſhall find that a pure air, wholeſome food, and great frugality, had early multiplied men to a prodigious degree in Indoſtan. They were acquainted with laws, civil government and arts, whilſt the reſt of the earth was deſert and ſavage. Wiſe and beneficial inſtitutions preſerved theſe people from corruption, and their only care was to enjoy the gifts of the earth and of the climate. If from time to time their morals were tainted in ſome of theſe ſtates, the empire was immediately ſubverted: and when Alexander entered theſe regions, he found very few kings, and many free cities.

A country divided into numberleſs little ſtates, ſome of which were popular, and others enſlaved, could not make a very formidable reſiſtance againſt the hero of Macedonia. His progreſs was rapid, and

and he would have ſubdued the whole country, had not death overtaken him in the midſt of his triumphs.

By following this conqueror in his expeditions, the Indian Sandrocotus had learned the art of war. This obſcure man, who had nothing to recommend him but his talents, collected a numerous army, and drove the Macedonians out of the provinces they had invaded. The deliverer of his country then made himſelf maſter of it, and united all Indoſtan under his dominion. How long he reigned, or what was the duration of the empire he had founded, is not known.

At the beginning of the eighth century, the Arabs over-ran India, as they did many other parts of the world. They ſubjected ſome few iſlands to their dominion; but, content with trading peaceably on the continent, they made but few ſettlements on it.

Three centuries after this, ſome barbarians of their religion, who came out from Khoraſſan headed by Mahmoud, attacked India on the north ſide, and extended their depredations as far as Guzarat. They carried off immenſe ſpoils from thoſe wealthy provinces, and buried them under ground in their wretched and barren deſerts.

These calamities were not yet forgotten, when Gingis-Khan, who with his Tartars had ſubdued the greateſt part of Aſia, brought his victorious army to the weſtern borders of India. This was about the year 1200. It is not known what part this conqueror and his deſcendents took in the affairs of Indoſtan. Probably, they did not con-

cern themſelves much about them ; for it appears, that ſoon after the Patans reigned over this fine country.

THESE are ſaid to have been Arabian merchants ſettled on the coaſts of Indoſtan, who taking advantage of the weakneſs of the ſeveral kings and nations who had admitted them, eaſily ſeized upon many provinces, and founded a vaſt empire, of which Delhi was the capital. Under their dominion India was happy, becauſe men educated to trade, were not influenced by that ſpirit of devaſtation and rapine which commonly attends invaders.

THE Indians had ſcarce had time to accuſtom themſelves to a foreign yoke, when they were once more forced to change maſters. Tamerlane, who came from great Tartary, and was already famous for his cruelties and his victories, advanced to the north ſide of Indoſtan, at the end of the fourteenth century, with a well diſciplined and triumphant army, inured to all the hardſhips of war. He ſecured the northern provinces himſelf, and abandoned the plunder of the ſouthern ones to his lieutenants. He ſeemed determined to ſubdue all India, when on a ſudden he turned his arms againſt Bajazet, overcame and dethroned that prince; and by the union of all his conqueſts, found himſelf maſter of the immenſe ſpace that extends from the delicious coaſt of Smyrna, to the delightful borders of the Ganges. After his death violent conteſts aroſe, and his poſterity were deprived of his rich ſpoils. Babar, the ſixth de-

ſcendent

ſcendent of one of his children, alone ſurvived to preſerve his name.

THAT young prince, brought up in ſloth and luxury, reigned in Samarcand, where his anceſtor had ended his days. The Uſbeck Tartars dethroned him, and conſtrained him to take refuge in the Cabuliſtan. Ranguildas, the governor of that province, received him kindly, and ſupplied him with troops.

THIS wiſe man addreſſed him in the following manner: "It is not towards the north where vengeance would naturally call thee, that thy ſteps "muſt be directed. Soldiers enervated by the "pleaſures of India, could not without raſhneſs "attack warriors famous for their courage and "their victories. Heaven has conducted thee to "the banks of the Indus, in order to fix upon thy "brow one of the richeſt diadems in the univerſe. "Turn thy views towards Indoſtan. That empire, torn in pieces by the inceſſant wars of "the Indians and Patans, calls for a maſter. It "is in thoſe delightful regions that thou muſt "eſtabliſh a new monarchy, and raiſe thy glory "equal to that of the formidable Tamerlane."

THIS judicious advice made a ſtrong impreſſion on the mind of Babar. A plan of uſurpation was immediately traced out, and purſued with activity and ſkill. Succeſs attended the execution. The northern provinces, not excepting Delhi, ſubmitted after ſome reſiſtance; and thus a fugitive monarch had the honour of laying the foundation of the power of the Mogul Tartars, which ſubſiſts to this day.

The preservation of this conqueft required a form of government. That which Babar found eftablifhed in India was a kind of defpotifm, merely relative to civil matters, tempered by cuftoms, forms and opinion; in a word, adapted to that mildnefs which thefe nations derive from the influence of the climate, and from the more powerful influence of religious tenets. To this peaceable conftitution Babar fubftituted a fevere and military defpotifm, fuch as might be expected from a victorious and barbarous nation.

Ranguildas was long witnefs to the power of the new fovereign, and exulted in the fuccefs of his own councils. The recollection of the fteps he had taken to place his mafter's fon upon the throne, filled him with a confcious and real fatisfaction. One day, as he was praying in the temple, he heard a Banian, who ftood by him, cry out, "O God! thou feeft the fufferings of my "brethren. We are a prey to a young man who "confiders us as his property, which he may "fquander and confume as he pleafes. Among "the many children who call upon thee from "thefe vaft regions, one oppreffes all the reft: "avenge us of the tyrant; avenge us of the trai-"tors who have placed him on the throne, with-"out examining whether he was a juft man."

Ranguildas, aftonifhed, drew near to the Banian, and faid, "O thou, who curfeft my old age, "hear me. If I am guilty, my confcience has "mifled me. When I reftored the inheritance to "the fon of my fovereign, when I expofed my life "and fortune to eftablifh his authority, God is

"my

" my witneſs that I thought I was acting in con-
" formity to his wiſe decrees; and at the very in-
" ſtant when I heard thy prayer, I was ſtill thank-
" ing heaven for granting me, in my latter days,
" thoſe two greateſt of bleſſings, reſt and glory."

" GLORY! cries the Banian. Learn, Ranguil-
" das, that glory belongs only to virtue, and not to
" actions which are only ſplendid, without being
" uſeful to mankind. Alas! what advantages
" did you procure to Indoſtan when you crowned
" the ſon of an uſurper? Had you previouſly con-
" ſidered whether he was capable of doing good,
" and whether he would have the will and reſo-
" lution to be juſt? You ſay, you have reſtored
" to him the inheritance of his fathers, as if men
" could be bequeathed and poſſeſſed like lands
" and cattle. Pretend not to glory, O Ranguil-
" das! or if you look for gratitude, go and ſeek
" it in the heart of Babar; he owes it you. You
" have purchaſed it at a great price, the happineſs
" of a whole nation."

BABAR, however, whilſt he was bringing his ſubjects under the yoke of deſpotiſm, took care to confine it within certain bounds, and to draw up his inſtitutes with ſo much force, that his ſucceſſors, though abſolute, could not poſſibly be unjuſt. The prince was to be the judge of the people and the arbiter of the ſtate; but his tribunal and his council were to be held in the public ſquare. Injuſtice and tyranny love darkneſs, in order to conceal themſelves from their intended victor: but when the monarch's actions are to be ſubmitted to the inſpection of his ſubjects, it is a ſign he intends nothing but their good. Openly

to inſult a number of men aſſembled, is ſuch an outrage as even a tyrant would bluſh at.

The principal ſupport of his authority was a body of four thouſand men, who ſtiled themſelves the firſt ſlaves of the prince. Out of this body were choſen the Omrahs, thoſe perſons who compoſed the emperor's councils, and on whom he beſtowed lands, diſtinguiſhed by great privileges. This ſort of poſſeſſions always reverted to the crown. It was on this condition that all great offices were given. So true it is, that deſpotiſm enriches its ſlaves only to plunder them.

Great intereſt, however, was made for the poſt of Omrah. Whoever aſpired to the government of a province, made this the object of his ambition. To prevent any projects the governors might form for their own aggrandizement or independence, they always had overſeers placed about them, who were not under their controul, and who were commiſſioned to inſpect the uſe they made of the military force they were entruſted with, to keep the conquered Indians in awe. The fortified towns were frequently in the hands of officers, who were accountable only to the Court. That ſuſpicious court often ſent for the governor, and either continued him or removed him, as it happened to ſuit her fluctuating policy. Theſe changes were grown ſo common, that a new governor coming out of Delhi, remained upon his elephant with his face turned towards the city, *waiting*, as he ſaid, *to ſee his ſucceſſor come out*.

The form of government, however, was not the

the ſame throughout the empire. The Moguls had left ſeveral Indian princes in poſſeſſion of their ſovereignties, and even with a power of tranſmitting them to their deſcendents. They governed according to the laws of the country, though accountable to a nabob appointed by the court. They were only obliged to pay tribute, and to conform to the conditions ſtipulated with their anceſtors at the time of the conqueſt.

The conquering nation could not have committed any conſiderable ravages, ſince it does not yet conſtitute more than a tenth part of the population of India. There are a hundred millions of Indians to ten millions of Tartars. The two nations have never intermixed. None but Indians are farmers and artificers. They alone live in the country, and carry on the manufactures. The Mohammedans are to be found in the capital, at court, in great cities, in camps and armies.

It appears, that at that period when the Moguls entered Indoſtan, they found no private property. All the lands belonged to the Indian princes; and it may eaſily be imagined that ſavage conquerors, ſunk in ignorance and avarice, did not rectify this abuſe, which is the utmoſt ſtretch of arbitrary power. That portion of the lands of the empire which the new ſovereigns call their own, was divided into large governments, which were called ſubahſhips. The ſubahs, who were intruſted with the civil and military government, were alſo appointed to receive the revenues. This they committed to the care of the nabobs, whom they eſtabliſhed throughout their ſubah-

ſhips;

ſhips; and theſe again truſted this buſineſs to private farmers, whoſe immediate buſineſs it was to cultivate the lands.

At the beginning of their year, which is in June, the nabob's officers agreed with the farmers for the price of their farm. A kind of deed was drawn up, called jamabandi, which was depoſited in the chancery of the province; after which the farmers went, each in his own diſtrict, to look for huſbandmen, and advanced them conſiderable ſums to enable them to ſow the ground. After harveſt, the farmers remitted the produce of their grounds to the nabob's officers. The nabob delivered it to the ſubah, and the ſubah paid it into the emperor's treaſury. The agreements were commonly for half the produce of the land; the other half went to pay the charges of culture, to enrich the farmers, and to ſubſiſt thoſe whom they employed in tilling the land. In this ſyſtem were compriſed not only corn, which is the principal crop, but all other productions of the earth. Betel, ſalt, tobacco, were all farmed in the ſame manner.

There were alſo ſome cuſtom-houſes, and ſome duties upon the public markets; but no poll-tax, or any tax upon induſtry. Theſe arbitrary rulers had not thought of requiring any thing from men who had nothing left them. The weaver ſitting at his loom, worked without ſolicitude, and freely diſpoſed of the fruit of his labour.

This liberty extended to every kind of moveables. They were truly the property of private

perſons

persons, who were not accountable to any person for them. They could dispose of them in their life-time; and after their death, they devolved to their offspring. The houses of artificers, the town-houses with the little gardens belonging to them, were likewise accounted private property. They were hereditary, and might be sold.

In the latter case, the buyer and seller appeared before the Cothoal. The conditions of the bargain were drawn up in writing, and the Cothoal affixed his seal to the deed, to make it valid.

The same formality was observed with regard to the purchase of slaves; that is, of those unfortunate men, who, under the pressure of poverty, chose rather to be in bondage to one man who allowed them a subsistence, than to live under that general slavery, in which they had no means of procuring the necessaries of life. They then sold themselves for a sum of money, and this was transacted in presence of the Cothoal, that the master's property might not be contested.

The Cothoal was a kind of notary public. There was one in every district of a certain size. It was before him that the few deeds were transacted, which the nature of such a government would admit of. Another officer, called Jemidar, decided all differences that arose between man and man, and his decisions were almost always definitive, unless the cause was a very important one, or unless the aggrieved party was rich enough to pay for having it reversed at the nabob's court. The Jemidar was likewise intrusted with the police. He had a power of inflicting slight punishments;

ments; but all capital offences were reſerved for the judgment of the nabob, as he alone had a right to pronounce a ſentence of death.

SUCH a government, which was no better than a deſpotiſm gradually deſcending from the throne down to the meaneſt officer, could have no other ſpring than a coercive power conſtantly exerted. Accordingly, as ſoon as the rainy ſeaſon was over, the monarch quitted his capital and reſided in his camp. The nabobs, the rajas, and the principal officers were ſummoned to attend him, and in this manner he proceeded through all the provinces ſucceſſively, in military parade, which, however, did not preclude political artifice. One great man was often employed to oppreſs another. The moſt odious refinement of deſpotiſm is that of dividing its ſlaves. Theſe diviſions were fomented by informers, publicly kept by the prince, who were continually ſpreading alarm and terror. Theſe informers were always choſen among perſons of the firſt rank. Corruption is then at its height, when power can confer nobility on what is mean.[1]

EVERY year, the great Mogul ſet out on his progreſs, more as a conqueror than as a ſovereign. He went to adminiſter juſtice in the provinces, as if he was going to plunder them, and maintained his authority by a parade of military force, which makes arbitrary government a continual ſtate war. This manner of governing, though with legal forms, is very dangerous for the monarch. So long as the people feel their wrongs, merely thro' the channel of thoſe who are inveſted with his authority,

thority, they only murmur, upon the ſuppoſition that the ſovereign is ignorant of them, and would not ſuffer any injuſtice if he knew it: but when the ſovereign gives it a ſanction by his preſence and by his own deciſions, then all confidence is at an end: the deception vaniſhes: he was a God; now he is an ideot, or a wicked man.

The Mogul emperors, however, have long enjoyed the ſuperſtitious idea the nation had conceived of their ſacred character. That outward pomp which captivates the people more than juſtice, becauſe men are more ſtruck with what dazzles their eyes, than with what is beneficial to them; the richneſs and ſplendour of the prince's court; the grandeur that ſurrounded him in his travels; all this kept up in the minds of the people thoſe prejudices of ſervile ignorance, which trembles before the idol it has raiſed. The various accounts that have been tranſmitted to us of the luxury of the moſt brilliant courts in the world, are not to be compared to the oſtentatious pomp of the Great Mogul when he appears in public. The elephants, formerly ſo dreadful in war, but which are become uſeleſs in an army ſince the introduction of gunpowder; theſe immenſe animals that are unknown in our climates, give an Aſiatic monarch an air of grandeur, of which we have no conception. The people fall proſtrate before their majeſtic ſovereign, who ſits exalted upon a throne of gold, glittering with precious ſtones, mounted on the haughty animal, who proceeds ſlowly, proud to preſent the maſter of a great empire to the reſpect of ſo many ſlaves.

Thus,

Thus, by dazzling the eyes of men, or inspiring them with terror, the Moguls preserved and even enlarged their conquests. Aurengzebe completed them, by making himself master of the whole peninsula. All Indostan, excepting a small portion of it along the coast of Malabar, submitted to that superstitious and barbarous tyrant, who had imbrued his hands in the blood of his father, his brothers, and his nephews.

This infamous despot, made the Mogul power an object of detestation, but he supported it as long as he lived. At his death it was irrecoverably reduced. The uncertainty as to the right of succession was the first cause of the disturbances that arose after his demise, at the beginning of the eighteenth century. Only one law was generally acknowledged, that which enacted, that the sceptre should never go out of the family of Tamerlane; but every emperor was at liberty to chuse his successor, without being obliged to regard the degree of consanguinity. This indefinite right proved a source of discord. Young princes, whose birth entitled them to expect the crown, and who frequently were at the head of a province and an army, supported their claim sword in hand, and paid little regard to the will of a monarch who was no more. This happened at the death of Aurengzebe. His rich spoils were stained with blood. In these convulsions of the state, the springs that restrained an army of twelve hundred thousand men were relaxed. Every nabob aimed at being independent, increasing the contributions raised upon the people, and lessening the tributes sent

ſent into the emperor's treaſury. No longer was any thing regulated by law, all was carried on by caprice or thrown into confuſion by violent meaſures.

THE education of the young princes promiſed no remedy for all theſe evils. Left to the care of women till the age of ſeven years, tutored afterwards in ſome religious principles, they went and ſpent in the ſoft indulgences of a ſeraglio thoſe years of youth and activity which ought to be employed in forming the man, and inſtructing him in the knowledge of life. Care was taken to enervate them, that they might not become dangerous. Conſpiracies of children againſt their fathers were frequent; to prevent theſe, therefore, the children were deprived of every virtue, leſt they ſhould be capable of a crime. Hence that ſhocking thought of an oriental poet, that *fathers, whilſt their ſons are living, are fondeſt of their grandſons, becauſe they love in them the enemies of their enemies.*

THE Moguls retained nothing of thoſe hardy manners they had brought from their mountains. Thoſe among them who were advanced to high offices, or had acquired large fortunes, changed their habitations according to the ſeaſons. In theſe retirements, which were ſome of them more delightful than others, they lived in houſes built only of clay or earth, but the inſide of which preſented every Aſiatic luxury, together with all the pomp of the moſt corrupted courts. Wherever men cannot raiſe a laſting fortune, nor tranſmit it to their poſterity, they are deſirous of crowding all

their enjoyments in the only moment they can call their own. Every pleaſure and even life itſelf is exhauſted in the midſt of perfumes and women.

THE Mogul empire was in this ſtate of weakneſs when it was attacked in 1738, by the famous Thamas Kouli-Kan. The innumerable armies of India were diſperſed without reſiſtance by a hundred thouſand Perſians, as thoſe very Perſians had formerly fled before thirty thouſand Greeks trained by Alexander. Thamas entered victorious into Delhi, received the homage of the weak Mahomed, and finding the monarch ſtill more ſtupid than his ſubjects, he ſuffered him to live and to reign, united to Perſia all the provinces that ſuited him, and returned loaded with an immenſe booty, the ſpoils of Indoſtan.

MAHOMED, deſpiſed by his conqueror, was ſtill more ſo by his ſubjects. The great men would not ſerve under a vaſſal of the king of Perſia. The nabobſhips became independent, paying only a ſmall tribute. In vain did the emperor declare that the nabobs ſhould ſtill be removeable, each of them ſtrove with all his power to make his dignity hereditary, and the ſword decided every quarrel. The ſubjects were conſtantly at war with their maſter, and were not conſidered as rebels. Whoever could afford to pay a body of troops, pretended to a ſovereignty. The only formality obſerved was to counterfeit the emperor's ſign manual in a *firman* or warrant of inveſtiture. It was brought to the uſurper, who received it on his knees. This farce was neceſſary

ceſſary to impoſe upon the people, who had ſtill reſpect enough remaining for the family of Tamerlane, to chooſe that all authority ſhould, at leaſt, appear to proceed from it.

THUS did diſcord, ambition and anarchy oppreſs this fine region of Indoſtan. Crimes could the more eaſily be concealed, as it was the cuſtom of the great never to write but in ambiguous terms, and to employ none but obſcure agents, whom they diſowned when they found it neceſſary. Aſſaſſination and poiſoning became common crimes, which were buried in the dark receſſes of thoſe impenetrable palaces, full of attendants, ever ready to perpetrate the blackeſt acts on the leaſt ſignal from their maſter.

THE foreign troops that were called in by the contending parties, completed the miſeries of this unhappy country. They carried off all the riches of the land, or obliged the owners to bury them under ground; ſo that the treaſures amaſſed for ſo many ages gradually diſappeared. A general dejection enſued. The grounds lay fallow, and the manufactures ſtood ſtill. The people would no longer work for foreign plunderers, or domeſtic oppreſſors. Want and famine were ſoon felt. Theſe calamities, which for ten years had infeſted the provinces of the empire, began to viſit the coaſt of Coromandel. The wiſe Nizam-al muluck, Subah of the Decan, was now no more. His prudence and talents had kept that part of India which he commanded in a flouriſhing ſtate. The European merchants were ap-

 prehenſive

prehenſive that their trade might fail when it had loſt that ſupport. They ſaw no reſource againſt that danger, but to have a territory of their own, large enough to contain a number of manufactures ſufficient to make up their lading.

DUPLEIX was the firſt who conſidered this as a practicable ſcheme. The war had brought many troops to Pondicherry, with which he hoped by rapid conqueſts to procure greater advantages than the rival nations had obtained by a ſteady conduct, and mature deliberation.

HE had long ſtudied the character of the Moguls, their intrigues, their political intereſts. He had acquired ſuch knowledge of theſe matters, as might have been ſurprizing even in a man brought up at the court of Delhi. Theſe informations deeply combined, had convinced him that it would be in his power to attain a principal influence in the affairs of Indoſtan, poſſibly, to manage them as he pleaſed. His ſpirit, which prompted him to attempt more than he was able to perform, gave additional ſtrength to his reflections. Nothing terrified him in the great part he propoſed to act at the diſtance of ſix thouſand leagues from his native country. In vain did his friends repreſent to him the dangers attending ſuch an undertaking; he conſidered nothing but the glorious advantage of ſecuring to France a new dominion in the heart of Aſia; to enable her by the revenues annexed to it, to defray the charges of trade and the expences of ſovereignty; and even to free her from the tribute which our

luxury

luxury pays to the induſtry of the Indians, by procuring rich and numerous cargoes, which ſhould not be bought with any exports of money, but from the overflowings of the new revenues. Full of this great project, Dupleix eagerly ſeized the firſt opportunity that offered to put it in execution, and ſoon took upon him to diſpoſe of the ſubahſhip of the Decan and the nabobſhip of the Carnatic, in favour of two men who were ready to give up any thing he ſhould require.

The ſubahſhip of the Decan is a vice-royalty, made up of ſeveral provinces which were formerly ſo many independent ſtates. It extends from Cape Comorin to the Ganges. The ſubah has the ſuperintendance of all the Indian princes and all the Mogul governors within his juriſdiction; and in his hands are depoſited the contributions that are deſtined to fill the public treaſure. He can compel his inferior officers to attend him in all military expeditions he may think proper to make into the countries under his dominion, but he is not allowed to march them into a foreign territory, without an expreſs order from the emperor.

The ſubahſhip of the Decan becoming vacant in 1748, Dupleix, after a ſeries of events and revolutions, in which the corruption of the Moguls, the weakneſs of the Indians, and the boldneſs of the French were equally conſpicuous, diſpoſed of it towards the beginning of the year 1751, in favour of Salabat-jing, a ſon of the late viceroy.

BOOK IV.

THIS ſucceſs ſecured great advantages to the French ſettlements along the coaſt of Coromandel; but Pondicherry was a place of ſuch importance, that it was thought to deſerve a particular attention. This town, which is ſituated on the Carnatic, has ſuch conſtant and immediate connections with the nabob of that rich diſtrict, that it was thought adviſeable to procure the government of the province for a man whoſe affection and ſubmiſſion might be depended upon. The choice fell upon Chunda ſaeb, a relation of the late nabob, well known for his intrigues, his misfortunes, his warlike exploits, and his ſteadineſs of temper.

IN return for their ſervices, the French made him give up an immenſe territory. The principal of their acquiſitions was the iſland of Seringham, formed by the two branches of the Caveri. This long and fertile iſland derives its name and its conſequence from a Pagoda, which is fortified, as moſt great buildings that are devoted to public worſhip. The temple is ſurrounded with ſeven ſquare incloſures, at the diſtance of three hundred and fifty feet from each other, and formed by pretty high walls, which are proportionably thick. The altar ſtands in the center. A ſingle monument of this kind, with its fortifications and the myſteries and riches it contains, is more likely to enforce and perpetuate a religion than a multiplicity of temples and prieſts diſperſed in different towns, with their ſacrifices, ceremonies, prayers and diſcourſes, which by their number, their frequent repetition, and their being performed

formed in public, are apt to tire the people: they are alſo expoſed to the contempt of enlightened reaſon, to dangerous profanations, or to the ſlight and neglect of the people, a circumſtance which the prieſts dread more than ſacrilege itſelf. The prieſts of India, as wiſe as thoſe of Egypt, ſuffer no ſtranger to penetrate into the Pagoda of Seringham. Amidſt the fables in which the hiſtory of this temple is involved, probably ſome acute philoſopher might, if he was admitted into it, trace from the emblems, the form and conſtruction of the edifice, and the ſuperſtitious practices and traditions peculiar to that ſacred incloſure, many ſources of inſtruction, and an inſight into the hiſtory of the moſt remote ages. Pilgrims reſort thither from all parts of Indoſtan to obtain abſolution of their ſins, and always bring an offering proportionable to their circumſtances. Theſe gifts were ſtill ſo conſiderable at the beginning of the preſent century, as to maintain forty thouſand men in a life of ſloth and idleneſs. The Bramins of this temple, though under the reſtraints of ſubordination, were ſeldom known to quit their retirement for the more buſy ſcenes of intrigue and politics.

Independent of other advantages which the French enjoyed by the acquiſition of Seringham, the ſituation gave them great influence over the neighbouring countries, and an abſolute command over the kingdom of Tanjour, as they could at any time ſtop the waters that were wanted for the culture of their rice.

BOOK IV.

The territories of Karical and Pondicherry got an acceſſion of ten leagues each, with fourſcore villages. If theſe acquiſitions were not ſo conſiderable as that of Seringham in point of political influence, they were much more ſo with regard to trade.

But this was a trifling acquiſition compared to the territory that was gained to the north, which comprehended the Condavir, Maſulipatam, the iſland of Divi, and the four provinces of Muſtafanagur, Elur, Rajamandry, and Chicakol. Such important conceſſions made the French maſters of the coaſt for the ſpace of ſix hundred miles, and procured them the beſt linen in Indoſtan. It is true, they were to enjoy the four provinces no longer than they ſhould furniſh the Subah with a ſtipulated number of troops, and maintain them at their own expence; but this agreement, which was only binding to their honeſty, gave them little concern. Their ambition made them already think themſelves in poſſeſſion of thoſe treaſures that had been heaped up in thoſe vaſt regions for ſo many ages.

The ambitious views of the French, and their projects of conqueſt, were ſtill more viſionary. They purpoſed to obtain a ceſſion of the capital of the Portugueſe colonies, and to ſeize upon the diſtrict of a triangular form, which lies between Maſulipatam, Goa, and Cape Comorin.

In the mean time, till they could realize theſe brilliant chimeras, they conſidered the perſonal honours that were laviſhed upon Dupleix, as a preſage of the greateſt proſperity. It is well known

known that every foreign colony is in ſome degree odious to the natives; it is therefore good policy to endeavour to leſſen this averſion, and the ſureſt way to attain that end is, to conform as much as poſſible to the cuſtoms and manners of the country. This maxim, which is in general true, is more particularly ſo in countries where the people think but little, and is conſequently ſo in India.

THE inclination which the French commander had for Aſiatic pomp, was ſtill a further inducement with him to conform to the cuſtoms of the country. He was exceedingly rejoiced when he ſaw himſelf inveſted with the dignity of a nabob. That title put him upon a level with thoſe whoſe protection he ſolicited before, and afforded him conſiderable opportunities to pave the way for thoſe great revolutions he meditated, in order to promote the important intereſts he was intruſted with. He entertained ſtill greater hopes on being appointed governor of all the Mogul poſſeſſions, throughout an extent little inferior to the whole kingdom of France. All the revenues of thoſe rich provinces were to be depoſited in his hands, and he was accountable to none but the Subah himſelf.

THOUGH theſe agreements entered into by merchants could not be very pleaſing to the court of Delhi, they were not much afraid of its reſentment. The emperor, being in want of men and money, which the Subahs, the Nabobs, the Rajas, his meaneſt delegates, took upon themſelves to refuſe him, found himſelf attacked on all ſides.

THE

The Rajaputes, defcended from thofe Indians with whom Alexander had been engaged in battle, being driven out of their lands by the Moguls, took fhelter in fome mountains that are almoft inacceffible. Continual difturbances put it out of their power to think of conquefts; but in the intervals of their diffentions, they make inroads that cannot fail of harraffing an empire already exhaufted.

The Patans are more formidable enemies. Driven by the Moguls from moft of the thrones of Indoftan, they have taken refuge at the foot of mount Imaüs, which is a continuation of the Caucafus. That fituation has ftrangely altered their manners, and given them a fiercenefs of temper which they had not in a milder climate. War is their chief employment. They ferve alike under the banners of Indian or Mohammedan princes; but their obedience is not equal to their valour. Whatever crime they may have been guilty of, it is dangerous to punifh them; for they are fo vindictive, that they will murder when they are weak, and revolt when they are ftrong enough to attempt any bold enterprize. Since the reigning power has loft its ftrength, the nation has fhaken off the yoke. Not many years ago, their generals carried on their ravages as far as Delhi, and did not quit that capital till they had plundered it.

To the north of Indoftan is a nation, which though lately known, is the more formidable for being a new enemy. This people, diftinguifhed by the name of Scheiks, have found means to free them-

themſelves from the chains of deſpotiſm and ſuperſtition, though ſurrounded by nations of ſlaves. They are ſaid to be followers of a philoſopher of Thibet, who inſpired them with ſome notions of liberty, and taught them Theiſm without any mixture of ſuperſtition. They firſt appeared in the beginning of the preſent century; but were then conſidered rather as a ſect than as a nation. During the calamities of the Mogul empire, their number increaſed conſiderably by apoſtates of all religions who joined with them, and ſought ſhelter amongſt them from the oppreſſions and fury of their tyrants. To be admitted of that ſociety, nothing more is required than to ſwear implacable hatred againſt monarchy. It is aſſerted, that they have a temple with an altar, on which ſtands their code of laws, and next to it a ſcepter and a dagger. Four old men are elected, who occaſionally conſult the law, which is the only ſupreme power this republic obeys. The Scheiks actually poſſeſs the whole province of Punjal, the greateſt part of the Moultan and the Sindi, both banks of the Indus from Caſſimere to Tatta, and all the country towards Delhi from Lahor to Serhend: they can raiſe an army of ſixty thouſand good cavalry.

But of all the enemies of the Moguls, none are, perhaps, ſo dangerous as the Marattas. This nation, of late ſo famous, ſo far as the obſcurity of their origin and hiſtory will allow us to conjecture, poſſeſſed ſeveral provinces of Indoſtan, from whence they were driven by the fear or the arms of the Moguls. They fled into the mountains which

BOOK IV.

which extend from Surat to Goa, and there formed ſeveral tribes, which in proceſs of time united into one ſtate, of which Satarah was the capital.

Most of them carried vice and licentiouſneſs to all the exceſſes which might be expected from an ignorant people, who have caſt off the yoke of prejudices without ſubſtituting wholeſome laws and ſound learning in their ſtead. Tired of laudable and peaceful labours, they thought of nothing but rapine. Yet this was confined to the plundering of a few villages, and the robbing of ſome caravans, till the coaſt of Coromandel, being threatened by Aurengzebe, made them ſenſible of their ſtrength, by imploring their aſſiſtance.

At this period they were ſeen coming out of their rocks, mounted on ſmall and ill-ſhaped horſes, but ſtout and accuſtomed to indifferent feeding, to difficult roads, and to exceſſive fatigue. The whole accoutrement of a Maratta horſeman conſiſted of a turban, a girdle, and a cloak. His proviſions were a little bag of rice, and a leather bottle full of water. His only weapon was an excellent ſabre.

Notwithstanding the aſſiſtance of theſe barbarians, the Indian princes were forced to bend to the yoke of Aurengzebe; but the conqueror, weary of contending with irregular troops, which were continually ravaging the newly reduced provinces, determined to conclude a treaty that would have been diſhonourable had it not been dictated by neceſſity, which is ſtronger than prejudices, oaths, and laws. He ceded for ever to the Marattas the fourth part of the revenues of the

the Decan, a ſubahſhip formed out of all his uſurpations in the peninſula.

THIS kind of tribute was regularly paid as long as Aurengzebe lived. After his death it was granted or refuſed according to circumſtances. The levying of it brought the Marattas in arms to the remoteſt parts of their mountains. Their boldneſs increaſed during the anarchy of Indoſtan. They have made the empire tremble; they have depoſed monarchs; they have extended their frontiers; they have granted their protection to rajas and nabobs who ſtrove to be independent, and their influence has been unbounded.

WHILST the court of Delhi was with difficulty contending with ſo many enemies, all conſpiring to effect its ruin, M. de Buſſy, who with a ſmall corps of French troops and an army of Indians had conducted Salabat-jing to Aurengabad his capital, endeavoured to eſtabliſh him on the throne where he had placed him. The weakneſs of the prince, the conſpiracies which it occaſioned, the firmans or privileges which had been granted to rivals, and other impediments, obſtructed but could not ſubvert his projects. By his means the prince reigned more peaceably under the protection of the French than could have been expected, conſidering the circumſtances of this ſituation, and he preſerved him abſolutely independent of the head of the empire.

CHUNDA-SAEB, appointed nabob of the Carnatic, was not in ſo happy a ſituation. The Engliſh, ever in oppoſition to the French, had ſtirred up a rival againſt him named Mohammed-Ali-Kan.

The

The names of thoſe two princes ſerved as a pretence for carrying on a vigorous war between the two nations: they fought for glory, for wealth, and to ſerve the paſſions of their reſpective commanders, Dupleix and Saunders. Victory declared alternately for each army. Succeſs would not have been ſo fluctuating, had the governor of Madraſs had more troops, or the governor of Pondicherry better officers. It was difficult to conjecture which of thoſe two men, who were both of the ſame inflexible temper, would in the end obtain the ſuperiority; but it was very certain that neither would ſubmit, whilſt he had either troops or money left. Nor was it likely that either of them would ſoon be reduced to this extremity, notwithſtanding their amazing efforts, becauſe they both found ſuch reſources in their hatred and their genius, as even the moſt able men could not have any conception of. It was evident that the diſturbances in the Carnatic would not be at an end, unleſs the peace was firſt ſettled in Europe; and it was to be feared that the flame which had been confined to India for ſix years might ſpread further. The miniſters of France and England obviated this danger, by enjoining the two companies to fix certain terms of agreement. They made a conditional treaty, which began by ſuſpending all hoſtilities at the commencement of the year 1755, and was to end by eſtabliſhing between them a perfect equality of territory, of ſtrength and of trade on the coaſts of Coromandel and Orixa. This ſtipulation had not

not yet received the ſanction of the courts of London and Verſailles, when greater intereſts kindled a freſh war between the two nations,

Wars between the Engliſh and French. The French loſe all their ſettlements.

THE report of this great conteſt, which began in North America, and ſpread itſelf throughout the univerſe, reached the Eaſt-Indies at a time when the Engliſh were engaged in a very intricate war with the Subah of Bengal. Had the French been then in the ſame ſtate they were ſome years before, they would have joined with the natives. From narrow views and ill-judged intereſts, they were deſirous of entering into a formal convention to ſecure the neutrality which had ſubſiſted on the banks of the Ganges, during the laſt diſturbances. Their rivals amuſed them with the hopes of ſettling this convention, ſo long as they wanted to keep them in a ſtate of inaction. But as ſoon as their ſucceſſes had enabled them to make their own terms, they attacked Chandernagore. The reduction of this place was followed by the ruin of all the factories dependent upon it, and put the Engliſh in a condition to ſend men, money, proviſions, and ſhips to the coaſt of Coromandel, where the French were juſt arrived with conſiderable land and ſea-forces.

THESE forces, deſtined to protect the ſettlements of their own nation and deſtroy thoſe of the enemy, were more than ſufficient to anſwer both thoſe purpoſes. The only point was to make a proper uſe of them; but there was a miſtake in this from the beginning, as will plainly appear from the following obſervations.

BEFORE

Before the commencement of the war, the company possessed on the coasts of Coromandel and Orixa, Masulipatam, with five provinces; a large circuit of land about Pondicherry, which for a long time before had been nothing but a sand bank; and an extent nearly of the same size in the neighbourhood of Karical; and lastly, the island of Seringham. These possessions made four tracts of country, too far distant to support each other. They bore the marks of the wild fancy and extravagant imagination of Dupleix, who had made these acquisitions.

These political errors might have been amended. Dupleix, who compensated for his defects by his great qualities, had acquired so great an influence that he was offered the perpetual government of the Carnatic. It was the most flourishing province in all the Mogul empire. By singular and fortunate circumstances, it had been governed successively by three nabobs of the same family, who had been equally attentive to agriculture and industry. General felicity had been the result of this mild government and public-spirited conduct, and the public revenues had increased to twelve millions *. A sixth part of this sum would have been given to Salabat-jing, and the rest would have been for the company.

If the ministry and the direction, who alternately supported and neglected their power in India, had but been capable of a firm and settled resolution, they might have sent orders to their

* 525,000l.

agent

agent to give up all the remote conqueſts, and to be content with that important ſettlement. It was alone ſufficient to give the French a firm eſtabliſhment, a compact territory in which the ſettlements would be contiguous, a very large quantity of merchandiſe, proviſions for their fortified towns, and revenues capable of maintaining a body of troops, which would have enabled them to brave the jealouſy of their neighbours, and the hatred of their enemies. Unfortunately for them, the court of Verſailles ordered that Dupleix ſhould not accept of the Carnatic, and affairs remained as they were before that propoſal.

THE ſituation was critical. Dupleix was, perhaps, the only man who could ſupport himſelf in it, or in his ſtead, the celebrated officer who had had the greateſt ſhare of his confidence, and was beſt acquainted with his ſchemes. The contrary opinion prevailed. Dupleix had been recalled. The general, who was appointed to conduct the Indian war, imagined he muſt demoliſh a ſtructure which ought only to have been ſupported in thoſe troubleſome times, and diſcovered his deſigns in ſo public a manner, as contributed greatly to heighten the imprudence of his reſolutions.

THIS man, whoſe ungovernable temper could never adapt itſelf to circumſtances, had received from nature no qualities that fitted him for command. He was governed by a gloomy, impetuous and irregular imagination, ſo that there was a perpetual contraſt between his converſation and

his projects, and between his projects and his actions. Passionate, suspicious, jealous, and positive to excess, he created an universal diffidence and dejection, and excited animosities never to be suppressed. His military operations, his civil government, his political combinations, all bore evident marks of the confusion of his ideas.

THE evacuation of the island of Seringham was the principal cause of the disasters that attended the war with Tanjour. Masulipatam and the northern provinces were lost, from having given up the alliance of Salabatjing. The inferior powers of the Carnatic, who no longer respected the French for the sake of their old friend the Subah of the Decan, completed the general ruin by espousing other interests.

ON the other hand, the French squadron, though superior to the English, with which it had engaged three several times without gaining any advantage over it, at last was obliged to leave it master of the seas, by which the fate of India was decided. Pondicherry, after struggling with all the horrors of famine, was forced to surrender on the 15th of January 1761. Lally had, the day before, corrected a plan of capitulation drawn up by the council; he had named deputies to carry it to the enemy's camp; and by a contradiction that was characteristic of the man, he gave the deputies a letter for the English general, in which he told him, *he would have no capitulation, because the English were such people that they would not adhere to it.*

IN taking possession of the place, the conqueror caused

caufed not only the troops that had defended it, but all the French in the company's fervice, to be fhipped off for Europe; and not fatisfied even with that revenge, they deftroyed Pondicherry, and made that noble city a heap of ruins.

THOSE of the inhabitants who were fent over to France, arrived in defpair at having loft their fortunes, and feen their houfes demolifhed as they quitted the fhore. They filled Paris with their clamours; they excited the indignation of the public againft their governor; they impeached him as the author of all their miferies, and the fole caufe of the lofs of a flourifhing colony. Lally was taken up, and tried by the Parliament. He had been accufed of high treafon and extortion; of the firft he was acquitted, and the fecond was never proved; yet Lally was condemned to lofe his head.

LET us afk, in the name of humanity, what his crime was, that it fhould be punifhable by law? The awful fword of juftice was not put into the hands of the magiftrate to gratify private refentment, or even to follow the emotions of public indignation. The law alone muft point out its own victims; and if the clamours of a blind and incenfed multitude could fway with the judges to pronounce a capital fentence, the innocent might fuffer for the guilty, and there would be no fafety for the citizen. In this point of view let us examine the fentence.

IT declares that Lally ftands convicted *of having betrayed the interefts of the king, of the ftate, and of the India company*. What is meant by betraying

 of

of interefts? What law is there that makes it death to be guilty of this vague and indefinite crime? No fuch law either does or can exift. The difgrace of the prince, the contempt of the nation, public infamy, thefe are the proper punifhments for the man, who, from incapacity or folly, has not ferved his country as he ought: but death, and that too upon a fcaffold, is deftined for crimes of a different nature.

The fentence further declares, that Lally ftands convicted *of vexations, exactions, and abufe of authority.* No doubt he was guilty of thefe in numberlefs inftances. He made ufe of violent means to procure pecuniary aids; but this money was put into the public treafure. He injured and oppreffed the citizens; but he never atttempted any thing againft their lives, or againft their honour. He erected gibbets in the market-place, but caufed no one to be executed upon them.

In reality, he was a madman of a dark and dangerous caft; an odious and defpicable man; a man totally incapable of command. But he was neither guilty of public extortions, nor treafon; and to ufe the expreffion of a philofopher, whofe virtues do honour to humanity, *every one had a right to kill Lally except the executioner.*

Caufes of the misfortunes of the French.

The misfortunes that befel the French in Afia had been forefeen by all confiderate men, who reflected on the corruption of the nation. Their morals efpecially had degenerated in the voluptuous climate of India. The wars which Dupleix had carried on in the inland parts had laid the foundation of many fortunes. They were increafed

creafed and multiplied by the gifts which Salabatjing laviſhed on thoſe who conducted him in triumph to his capital, and fixed him on the throne. The officers who had not ſhared the dangers, the glory and the benefits of thoſe brilliant expeditions, found out an expedient to comfort themſelves under their misfortune; which was, to reduce the ſipahis to half the number they were ordered to maintain, and to apply their pay to their own benefit; which they could eaſily do, as the money paſſed through their hands. The agents for trade, who had not theſe reſources, accounted to the company but for a very ſmall part of the profits made upon the European goods they ſold, though they ought to have been all their own; and ſold them thoſe of India at a very high price, which they ought to have had at prime coſt. Thoſe who were intruſted with collecting the revenue of any particular ſpot, farmed it themſelves under Indian names, or let it for a trifle, upon receiving a handſome gratuity; they even frequently kept back the whole income of ſuch eſtates, under pretence of ſome imaginary robbery or devaſtation, which had made it impoſſible to collect it. All undertakings, of what nature ſoever, were clandeſtinely agreed upon; and became the prey of the perſons employed in them, who had found means to make themſelves formidable, or of ſuch as were moſt in favour, or richeſt. The authoriſed abuſe that prevails in India, of giving and receiving preſents on the concluſion of every treaty, had multiplied theſe tranſactions without neceſſity. The navigators who landed in thoſe parts, dazzled

zled with the fortunes which they ſaw increaſed fourfold from one voyage to another, no longer regarded their ſhips, but as the means of carrying on trade, and acquiring wealth. Corruption was brought to its greateſt height by people of rank, who had been diſgraced and ruined at home; but who being encouraged by what they ſaw, and impelled by the reports that were brought to them, reſolved to go themſelves into Aſia, in hopes of retrieving their ſhattered fortunes, or of being able to continue their irregularities with impunity. The perſonal conduct of the directors made it neceſſary for them to connive at all theſe diſorders. They were reproached with attending to nothing in their office but the credit, the money and the power it gave them: with giving the moſt important poſts to their own relations, men of no morals, application or capacity: with multiplying the number of factors without neceſſity and without bounds, to ſecure friends in the city and at court: and laſtly, they were accuſed of obtruding upon the public commodities which might have been bought cheaper and better in other places. Whether the government did not know of theſe exceſſes, or had not reſolution enough to put a ſtop to them, it was, by its blindneſs or its weakneſs, in ſome meaſure acceſſary to the ruin of the affairs of the nation in India. It might even without injuſtice be charged with being the principal cauſe of them, by ſending ſuch improper perſons to manage and defend an important ſettlement, which had no leſs to

fear

BOOK IV.

Measures taken by the French to re-establish affairs in India.

fear from its own corruption than from the English fleets and armies.

The misfortunes of the company abroad were aggravated by their situation at home. It was immediately thought adviseable to lay a clear account of affairs before the proprietors. This discovery occasioned a general despondency, which gave rise to a variety of different schemes, all equally absurd. These several schemes were hastily discussed, nor was it possible that any of them could be fixed upon by men in such a state of uncertainty and diffidence. The deliberations were carried on with too much asperity, and time, which was of so much consequence, was lost in upbraidings and invectives. No one could foresee where these commotions would end, when a young merchant of penetration and judgment arose. The proprietors listened to him with attention; all disputes immediately subsided, and fresh hopes began to dawn. They were unanimous in adopting his opinion. The company, which the enemies to all exclusive privileges wished to see abolished, and which so many private interests had conspired to destroy, still maintained its ground: but it was put upon a better footing; a circumstance which was absolutely necessary.

Amongst the causes that had occasioned the distresses of the company, there was one which had long been looked upon as the source of all the rest; this was the dependence, or rather the slavery, in which the government had kept that great body for near half a century.

Ever since the year 1723, the directors had

BOOK IV.

chosen by the court. In 1730, a commissary appointed by the king was introduced into the administration of the company. From this period there was an end to all freedom of debate; there was no longer any connection between those who had the management of affairs and the proprietors; no immediate intercourse between the managers and government. All was directed by the influence and according to the views of the court. Mystery, that dangerous veil of an arbitrary administration, concealed all their operations; and it was not till 1744 that the proprietors were called together. They were empowered to name syndics, and to call a general meeting once a year; but they were not better informed of the state of their affairs, nor more at liberty to direct them. The power of chusing the directors was still vested in the crown, and instead of one commissary the king chose to have two.

FROM this time two parties were formed. Each commissary had his own scheme, his own favourites, and endeavoured to get his own projects adopted. Hence arose divisions, intrigues, informations and animosities, which originated in Paris, and extended as far as India, and there broke out in a manner so fatal to the nation.

THE ministry, shocked at such a number of abuses, and weary of those endless contests, attempted to remedy them. It was imagined they had succeeded, by appointing a third commissary. This expedient, however, served only to increase the evil. Despotism had prevailed while there was but one; division ensued on the nomination of

of two; and from the moment three were appointed all was anarchy and confuſion. They were reduced to two, and pains were taken to preſerve harmony as much as poſſible between them; and in 1764 there was but one, when the proprietors deſired that the company might be brought back to its original form, by reſtoring its freedom.

THEY ventured to tell the government, they might impute the diſaſters and errors of the company to themſelves, as the proprietors had not been concerned in the management of their affairs: that they could never be carried on moſt advantageouſly both for them and for the ſtate, till this could be done with freedom, and till an immediate intercourſe was eſtabliſhed between the proprietors and adminiſtrators, and between the adminiſtrators and the miniſtry. That whenever there was an intermediate perſon, the orders given on one part, and the reports made on the other, would neceſſarily, in paſſing through his hands, take a tincture of his own private views and inclinations; ſo that he would always be, in fact, the real and ſole manager of the company. That ſuch a manager not being himſelf perſonally concerned in the affairs of the company, or not being a competent judge of them, would always ſacrifice the welfare and true intereſt of trade, to add to the tranſient pomp of his appointment, and to ſecure the favour of placemen. That, on the contrary, every thing might be expected from a free adminiſtration choſen by the proprietors, acting under their inſpection, and in concert with them, and ſubject to no kind of reſtraint.

THE

BOOK IV.

THE government was ſenſible of the truth of theſe reaſons. It ſecured the freedom of the company by a ſolemn edict; and the ſame merchant, who by his genius had juſt given it a new exiſtence, drew up a plan of proviſionary ſtatutes, for a new form of adminiſtration.

THE intention of theſe ſtatutes was, that the company might no longer be ruled by men who often were not worthy to be its factors; that the government might no further interfere than to protect it: that it might be alike preſerved from that ſlavery under which it had ſo long groaned, and from that ſpirit of myſtery which had perpetuated its corruption: that there ſhould be a conſtant intercourſe between the managers and the proprietors: that Paris, deprived of the advantage enjoyed by the capitals of other commercial nations, of being a ſea-port, might acquire a knowledge of trade in free and peaceable aſſemblies: that the citizen might form juſt notions of that powerful tie that connects all nations together, and by informing himſelf of the ſources of public proſperity, learn to reſpect the merchant whoſe operations contribute to it, and to deſpiſe the profeſſions that are deſtructive of it.

THESE wiſe regulations were attended with happier conſequences than could poſſibly be expected. A great activity was obſerved on all ſides. During the five years that the new adminiſtration laſted, the ſales produced annually 18,000,000 *. They had not been ſo conſiderable, even in thoſe

* 787,500l.

times

times which had been looked upon as the moſt proſperous; for, from 1726 to 1756 incluſively, they had amounted to no more than 437,376,284 livres †, which makes upon an average, in peace and war, 14,108,912 livres ‡ a year.

It muſt be confeſſed, that ſince the year 1764, the profits had not been what they were before. The difference between the purchaſe and the ſale, which had been at leaſt cent. per cent. was reduced to about ſeventy per cent. This diminution of profit was owing to the want of ſtock, to the ruin of French credit in India, and to the exorbitant power of the victorious nation that had lately ſubdued thoſe diſtant regions. The agents for the company were reduced to procure money and goods upon the moſt exorbitant terms. They obtained both from the Engliſh merchants who were endeavouring to bring over to Europe the immenſe fortunes they had amaſſed in Aſia.

With theſe impediments, and under theſe diſagreeable circumſtances, was the excluſive privilege of trading to the Eaſt Indies exerciſed, when the government thought proper to ſuſpend it. Let us now examine what was then the ſituation of the company.

These meaſures are inſufficient. The trade of individuals is ſubſtituted to that of the company. State of that ſociety at the time of its decay.

Before 1764, the number of ſhares amounted to 50,268. At that period the miniſtry, who, in 1746, 1747 and 1748, had given up to the proprietors the produce of the ſhares and bonds which were their property, relinquiſhed in their favour the ſhares and bonds themſelves, to the

† 19,135,212l. 8s. 6d. ‡ 617,264l. 18s.

number

number of 11,835 together, to indemnify them for the expences they had incurred during the last war. These shares having been cancelled, there remained but 38,432.

THE wants of the company obliged them to make a call of 400 livres * per share. Upwards of 34,000 shares paid the call. The 4000 that did not were reduced, by the terms of the edict which empowered the company to make it, to five-eighths of the value of those which had paid; so that by this operation, the number was reduced to 36,920 whole shares and six-eighths.

THE dividends on the shares of the French company, as of all other companies, have varied according to circumstances. In 1722 it was 100 livres †. From 1723 to 1745 it was 150 ‡. From 1746 to 1749 it was 70 §. From 1750 to 1758 it was 80 ‖. From 1759 to 1763 it was 40 ¶; and in 1764 it was but 20 livres**. This shews that the dividend, and the value of the stock, which always kept pace with it, was necessarily affected by the hazards of trade, and the fluctuation of popular opinion. Hence that prodigious rise and fall in the price of the shares, which fell in one year from two hundred †† to one hundred pistoles ‡‡; then rose to 1800 livres §§, and soon after fell to 700 ‖‖. Yet, in the midst of these revolutions, the stock of the company was much the same. But this is a calculation which the public never makes. It is determined by the circumstance of

* 17 l. 10 s. † 4 l. 7 s. 6 d. ‡ 6 l. 11 s. 3 d. § 3 l. 1 s. 3 d.
‖ 3 l. 10 s. ¶ 1 l. 15 s. ** 17 s. 6 d. †† 167 l. 18 s.
‡‡ 83 l. 15 s.
N. B. Each pistole is reckoned at 16 s. 9 d.
§§ 78 l. 15 s. ‖‖ 30 l. 12 s. 6 d.

the

the present moment, and always trusts or fears beyond the truth.

THE proprietors, who were under apprehensions of having their fortunes reduced to half in one day, would no longer run the risques of such a situation. In laying in a fresh stock to trade with, they desired to secure the remainder of their fortune in such a manner, as that the shares should at all times bear a settled price, and an interest that could be depended upon. The government settled this matter by an edict issued out in August 1764. The XIIIth article expressly says, that to secure to the proprietors a settled income independent of all future events of trade, a sufficient fund should be detached from that portion of the contract which was then free, to secure to every share a capital of 1600 livres*, and an interest of 80 livres†, and that *neither that interest nor that capital should, in any case, or for any cause whatsoever, be answerable for such engagements as the company might enter into after the date of this edict.*

THE company, therefore, owed for 36,920 shares and six eighths, at the rate of 80 livres‡ per share, an interest amounting to 2,953,660 livres§. They paid for their several contracts 2,727,506 livres‖, which made in all 5,681,166 livres¶ of perpetual annuities. The life annuities amounted to 3,074,899 livres**. The sum total of all these life annuities and annual payments was then 8,756,065 livres††. How the the company raised

* 70 l. † 3 l. 10 s. ‡ 3 l. 10 s. § 129,222 l. 12 s. 6 d.
‖ 119,328 l. 7 s. 9 d. ¶ 248,551 l. 0 s. 3 d.
** 134,526 l. 16 s. 7 d. ½ †† 383,577 l. 16 s. 10 d. ½.

money

BOOK IV.

money to anſwer theſe ſeveral demands, ſhall be the ſubject of our next inquiry.

That great body, which had been much too deeply concerned in Law's ſcheme, had advanced him 90,000,000 of livres *. When that ſyſtem failed, the government made over to them in payment the excluſive ſale of tobacco, which then brought in three millions † a year; but they were left without a capital to trade with. This kept them in a ſtate of inaction till 1726, when the government lent them its aſſiſtance. The rapid progreſs they made aſtoniſhed all nations, and ſeemed to promiſe them a ſuperiority over the moſt flouriſhing companies. This opinion, which was the general one, emboldened the proprietors to complain that their dividends were not doubled and trebled. They thought, as well as the public, that the king's treaſury was enriched with their ſpoils. The profound ſecrecy with which every thing was carried on, greatly ſtrengthened theſe ſurmiſes.

The breaking out of the war between France and England in 1744 diſſolved the charm. The miniſtry, too much embarraſſed in their own affairs to think of doing any thing for the company, left it to extricate itſelf. Then, indeed, every one was ſurprized to ſee that Coloſſus ready to fall, which had never yet met with any ſhock, and whoſe greateſt misfortune had been the loſs of two ſhips of a moderate value. The company would have been ruined, had not the government,

* 3,937,500 l. † 131,250 l.

in 1747, declared itſelf their debtor in the ſum of 180,000,000 of livres*, and engaged to pay them the intereſt of that ſum for ever at five per cent. This engagement, which was in lieu of the excluſive ſale of tobacco, is ſo important a point in the hiſtory of the company, that it would not be ſufficiently illuſtrated, if we did not trace the matter further back.

THE uſe of tobacco, which was introduced into Europe after the diſcovery of America, made no very rapid progreſs in France. The conſumption was ſo ſmall, that the firſt contract, which began the firſt of December 1674, and ended the firſt of October 1680, brought in but 500,000 livres † to the government the two firſt years, and 600,000 ‡ the four laſt; though the right of ſtamping pewter had been joined to this privilege. This farm of the revenue was confounded with the general farms till 1691, when it ſtill remained united to them, and was rated at 1,500,000 livres § a year. In 1697, it became once more a ſeparate farm on the ſame terms, till 1709, when it was increaſed to 100,000 livres || more, till 1715. It was then renewed for three years only. The two firſt years ought to have produced 2,000,000 of livres ¶, and the laſt 200,000** more. At that period it was increaſed to 4,020,000 livres †† a year; but this laſted only from the firſt of October 1718 to the firſt of June 1720. Tobacco then became a mercantile commodity all over the kingdom, and continued ſo till the firſt of September

* 7,875,000 l. † 21,875 l. ‡ 26,250 l. § 65,625 l.
|| 4,375 l. ¶ 87,500 l. ** 8,750 l. †† 175,875 l.

BOOK IV.

tember 1721. During this ſhort interval, private people laid in ſuch a ſtock, that when it came to be farmed out again, it could be done but at a moderate price. This contract, which was the eleventh, was for nine years, to commence on the firſt of September 1721, to the firſt of October 1730. The farmers were to give 1,300,000 livres* for the firſt thirteen months; 1,800,000† for the ſecond year; 2,560,000‡ for the third; and 3,000,000§ for each of the laſt ſix years. This agreement did not take place, becauſe the India company, to whom the government owed 90,000,000 livres‖, which had been depoſited in the royal treaſury in 1717, demanded the farm of tobacco, which had then been made over to them for ever, and which, from particular events, they had never yet enjoyed. Their petition was found to be juſt, and they obtained what they ſo warmly ſolicited.

They managed this farm themſelves, from the firſt of October 1723, to the laſt day of September 1730. The produce during this ſpace was 50,083,967 livres 11 ſous 9 deniers¶; which made 7,154,852 livres 10 ſols 3 den.** a year; out of this muſt be deducted yearly 3,042,963 l. 19s. 6d.†† for the charges of preparing the land.

These charges were ſo enormous, that it was thought the buſineſs, which grew every day more conſiderable, would be better in the hands of the farmers-general, who would manage it at leſs ex-

* 56,875 l. † 78,750 l. ‡ 112,000 l. § 131,250 l.
‖ 3,937,500 l. ¶ About 2,191,173 l. 11s. 7d. ½
** About 313,024 l. 16 s. †† About 133,129 l. 12 s. 7 d. ½

pence

pence by means of the clerks they employed for other purposes. The company accordingly farmed it for eight years, at the rate of 7,500,000 livres* for each of the first four years, and 8,000,000† for each of the four last. This contract was continued upon the same terms till the month of June 1747, and the king promised to account with the company for the increase of the produce, as soon as it should be known and ascertained.

At this period, the king united the tobacco farm to his other duties, creating and alienating, for the use of the company, an annuity of nine millions ‡ for ever, upon a capital of a hundred and eighty millions §. This large compensation was thought to be due to them for the old debt of ninety millions ‖; for the overplus of the profit upon the tobacco farm, from 1738 to 1747; and to indemnify them for the expences of the negro trade, for the losses they had sustained during the war, for their giving up the exclusive privilege of the trade to St. Domingo, and for the loss of the ton duty, which had been suspended ever since the year 1731. Yet this compensation has been thought inadequate by some of the proprietors, who have discovered, that ever since the year 1758, upwards of 11,700,000 pounds weight of tobacco have been annually sold in the kingdom at three livres ¶ a pounds, though it had been bought for twenty-seven livres ** a hundred.

* 328,125 l. † 350,000 l. ‡ 393,750 l. § 7,875,000 l.
‖ 3,937,500 l. ¶ 2 s. 7 d. ½ ** 1 l. 3 s. 7 d. ½

THE

BOOK IV.

The nation is of a very different opinion. The managers, who prevailed upon government to acknowledge ſo large a debt, have been accuſed of ſacrificing the intereſt of the public to that of a private ſociety. A writer who in our days ſhould examine whether this accuſation were well or ill-grounded, would paſs for an idle man. Such a diſcuſſion would be altogether needleſs, ſince every circumſtance of this tranſaction has been made public. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, that it was with the nine millions * a year improperly ſacrificed by the ſtate, that the company was enabled to anſwer the demand of 8,756,065 livres † with which it was charged, ſo that the overplus remaining to them amounted to about 244,000 livres ‡ of net revenue.

It is true, they had private ſimple contract debts to the amount of 74,505,000 livres ‖; but they had in trade, in ſtock, or in debts to call in, 70,733,000 livres §; a ſum nearly ſufficient to balance their accounts.

Their only riches conſiſted therefore in moveable and unmoveable effects, to the amount of about twenty millions ¶, and the proſpect of the extinction of the life annuities, which in time muſt bring in three millions ** a year. The actual value of this article might be reckoned equal to a clear capital of thirty millions ††.

* 393,750l. † 383,077l. 16s. 10d. ½ ‡ 10,675l.
‖ 3,259,593l. 15s. § 3,094,568l. 15s. ¶ 875,000l.
** 131,250l. †† 1,312,500l.

Inde-

INDEPENDENT of these properties, the company enjoyed some very beneficial rights. The exclusive sale of coffee had been granted them; but as public utility required that an exception should be made in 1736, with regard to coffee imported from the American islands, they obtained by way of compensation a yearly sum of 50,000 livres *, which was always duly paid. Even the privilege for Mocha coffee was cancelled in 1767, the government having allowed the importation of that of the Levant. The company obtained no indemnification on this account.

THEY had experienced a greater loss the year before. In 1720 they had been invested with the sole right of transporting slaves to the American colonies. This system soon appeared to be erroneous, and it was agreed that all the merchants in the kingdom should be at liberty to carry on the slave trade, upon condition of adding a pistole † per head to the thirteen livres ‡ granted out of the royal treasury. Supposing that 15,000 negroes were disposed of every year in the French islands, this made a clear income of 345,000 livres § for the company. This bounty, which was allowed them for a trade they were not concerned in, was taken off in 1767, and was made up to them by a more reasonable equivalent.

At the first formation of the company they had obtained a gratuity of 50 livres ‖ upon every ton of goods they should export, and of 75 ¶

* 2,187l. 10s. † 16s. 9d. ‡ 11s. 4d. ½. § 15,093l. 15s.
‖ 2l. 3s. 9d. ¶ 3l. 5s. 7d. ½.

upon every ton they ſhould import from abroad. The miniſtry, upon the ſuppreſſion of the bounty upon negroes, increaſed the gratuity upon every ton exported to 75 livres *, and upon every ton imported to 80 †. If we rate both at 6000 tons a year, we ſhall find a produce of above a million ‡ for the company, including the 50,000 livres § they received upon the coffee.

While the income of the company remained entire, their expences were leſſened. By the edict of 1764 the iſlands of France and Bourbon were become the property of the government, who engaged to fortify and defend them. By this arrangement the company was exonerated of two millions ‖ a year, without the leaſt detriment to the excluſive trade they enjoyed in thoſe two iſlands.

With all theſe ſeemingly proſperous circumſtances, the debts of the company were daily increaſing. This muſt inevitably happen, as their income, together with the profits of their trade, was not ſufficient to defray the expences of carrying it on, and the charges annexed to the crown, which amounted together to eight millions ¶ a year. They might even exceed this, as by their nature they were ſuſceptible of endleſs increaſe, according to the politital views of government, which is the ſole judge of their importance and neceſſity.

* 3l. 5s. 7d. ½ † 3l. 10s. ‡ 43,750l. § 2,187l. 10s.
‖ 87,500l. ¶ 350,000l.

In

In so unfortunate a situation, the company could not possibly support itself without the assistance of government. But for some time past the council of Lewis XV. had appeared to be very indifferent about the existence of that great body. At last an arret of council was issued, bearing date the 13th of August 1769, by which the king suspended the exclusive privilege of the India company, and granted to all his subjects the liberty of navigating and trading beyond the Cape of Good Hope. However, in granting this unexpected freedom, the government thought proper to lay it under some restraint. The arret which opens this new track to private navigators, requires them to provide themselves with passports, which are to be freely given by the administrators of the India company. It obliges them to make their returns to Port l'Orient, and no where else. It establishes a duty by way of indulto on all goods imported from India; which, by a second arret of council issued on the sixth of September following, was fixed at five per cent. on all goods coming from India and China, and at three per cent. upon all commodities of the growth of the islands of France and Bourbon.

The arret of the 13th of August, by only suspending the privilege of the company, seemed to leave to the proprietors the power of resuming it: but as they saw no probability of ever being able to do this, they wisely determined to liquidate their concerns in such a manner as to secure

 their

BOOK IV.

their creditors, and the remains of their own fortunes.

For this purpose they offered to give up to the king all the company's ships, thirty in number; all the warehouses and other buildings belonging to them at port l'Orient and in India; the property of their factories, with the manufactures dependent on them; all naval and military stores; and lastly, eight hundred slaves which they had reserved in the islands. All these articles were valued at thirty millions * by the proprietors, who at the same time demanded the payment of 16,500,000 livres † which were due to them by the government.

The king agreed to the proposal, but chose to lessen the purchase-money: not that the effects were not of still greater value while they remained in the hands of the company; but being made over to the government, they brought an additional incumbrance upon it. So that instead of 46,500,000 livres ‡ which the proprietors demanded, the prince, to clear all accounts with them, created a perpetual annuity for their benefit of 1,200,000 livres §, upon a capital of thirty millions ‖. The edict for that purpose was issued out in January 1770.

This new contract the company mortgaged for twelve millions ¶, which they borrowed upon life annuities at ten per cent. and by a lottery in February

* 1,312,500l. † 721,875l. ‡ 2,039,375l. § 52,500l.
‖ 1,312,500l. ¶ 525,000l.

bruary following. This money was borrowed to enable them to fulfil the engagements they had entered into when they undertook the laſt expeditions; but it was inſufficient: ſo that finding themſelves utterly unable to raiſe more, the proprietors, at their meeting on the 7th April 1770, made over their whole property to the king, except the capital that had been mortgaged to the proprietors of the ſhares.

THE principal articles comprized in this ceſſion, conſiſted in the abolition of 4,200,000 livres * in life annuities; of that part of the contract of nine millions † which exceeded the capital of the ſhares; of the hotel of Paris; of the India goods expected home in 1770 and 1771, ſuppoſed to be worth 26,000,000 of livres ‡; and laſtly, of three or four millions § of debts to be called in from debtors who were moſtly ſolvent, in India, in the iſles of France and Bourbon, and at San Domingo. The proprietors engaged at the ſame time to furniſh the king with a ſum of 14,768,000 livres ||, to be raiſed by way of a call, which was fixed at 400 livres ¶ per ſhare. The government, in accepting theſe ſeveral offers, engaged on their part to pay all the perpetual and life annuities which the company was bound to pay; all their other engagements, amounting to about forty-five millions **; all the penſions and half pays

* 183,750l † 393,750l. ‡ 1,137,500l. § About 153,000l. upon an average. || 646,100l. ¶ 17l. 10s. ** 1,968,750l.

granted by the company, amounting to 80,000 livres * a-year; laſtly, to ſtand to all the charges and riſques attending a liquidation that muſt neceſſarily continue ſome years.

THE capital of each ſhare, which by the edict of Auguſt 1764, had been fixed at 1600 livres †, bearing an intereſt of 80 livres ‡, the king now raiſed to 2500 livres §, bearing intereſt 125 livres ‖ a year. The new intereſt was made ſubject to a deduction of a tenth, and it was agreed that this deduction ſhould be annually appropriated to the paying off of the ſhares by lot, on the footing of their capital of 2500 livres ¶; ſo that the intereſt on the ſhares thus paid off, would increaſe the ſinking fund till the whole of the ſhares was finally paid off.

THESE reſpective conditions are recorded in an arret of council, of the 8th of April, including a report of the deliberations held the day before in a general meeting of the proprietors, and confirmed by letters patent bearing date the 22d of the ſame month. In conſequence of theſe agreements, the call has been paid, a ſufficiency for the reimburſement of the ſhares, to the number of two hundred and twenty, has been taken out every year, and the ſimple contract debts of the company have been duly paid when their time was elapſed.

FROM all theſe particulars, it is no eaſy matter to frame an idea of the actual mode of exiſtence of the India company, and of the legal ſtate of the

* 3,500l. † 70l. ‡ 3l. 10s. § 109l. 7s. 6d.
‖ 5l. 9s. 4d. ½ ¶ 109l. 7s. 6d.

trade

trade they carried on. This company, which at present has no property, no business, no object, cannot however be considered as being entirely destroyed, since the proprietors have reserved the joint stock that was mortgaged for their shares; and that they have a common chest, and deputies to superintend their interests. On the other hand, their charter has been suspended; but it is only suspended, and is not included among the articles which the company has ceded to the king. The law by which it was granted is still in force; and the ships that are fitted out for the Indian seas, cannot sail without a permission in the name of the company. So that the freedom which has been granted is but a precarious one; and if the proprietors should offer to resume their trade, with a sufficient stock to carry it on, they would have an undoubted right to do it without any new law to impower them. But except this nominal right, which in fact is much the same as if it did not exist, as the proprietors are not in a condition to exercise it, all their other rights, properties and factories, are now in the hands of government. Let us take a cursory view of those settlements, beginning with Malabar.

Present state of the French upon the coast of Malabar.

BETWEEN the provinces of Canara and Calicut, lies a district which extends eighteen leagues along the coast, and is at most seven or eight leagues broad. The country, which is very unequal, abounds with pepper and cocoa-trees. It is divided into several less districts, subject to as many Indian lords, who are all vassals to the house of

Colastry.

Colaftry. The head of this Bramin family is always to confine his whole attention to what concerns the worfhip of the gods. It would be beneath his dignity to ftoop to profane matters, and the reins of government are given to his neareft relation. The country is divided into two provinces. In the largeft, called the Irouvenate, is the Englifh factory of Tellichery, and the Dutch factory of Cananor. Thofe two nations fhare the pepper trade between them, but the Englifh commonly carry off 1,500,000 pounds weight, and there feldom remains more than 500,000 for the Dutch.

THE fecond province, called Cartenate, extends but five leagues along the coaft. Here the French were called in by the natives in 1722, with a view to engage them to act againft the Englifh; but an accommodation having taken place made their affiftance unneceffary, they were forced to relinquifh a poft where they promifed themfelves fome advantages. Fired with refentment and ambition, they returned in greater numbers in 1725, and eftablifhed themfelves fword in hand on the mouth of the river Mahé. Notwithftanding this act of violence, they obtained of the prince who governed that diftrict, an exclufive right to the pepper trade. This favour was fo great an advantage to them, that it gave rife to a colony of 6,000 Indians, who cultivated 6,350 cocoa trees, 3,967 areka and 7,762 pepper-trees. Such was the ftate of this fettlement, when the Englifh made themfelves mafters of it in 1760.

THE fame fpirit of deftruction that they had fhewn in all their conquefts, influenced them at

Mahé.

Mahé. Their intention was to pull down the houſes, and diſperſe the inhabitants. The ſovereign of that country diſſuaded them from their purpoſe. All was ſpared, except the fortifications. When the French returned to their factory, they found every thing much in the ſame condition as they had left it. It is their intereſt to ſecure the advantages they enjoy, and it is no leſs incumbent on them to endeavour to improve them.

MAHÉ is ſurrounded with hills, on which were erected five forts, that no longer exiſt. Theſe works were too numerous, though ſome precautions are abſolutely neceſſary. It is not proper to be perpetually expoſed to the depredations of the Nayers, who have formerly attempted to plunder and deſtroy the colony, and who might poſſibly have ſtill the ſame intentions, in order to put themſelves under the protection of the Engliſh at Tellichery, which is but three leagues diſtant from Mahé.

BESIDES the poſts requiſite to ſecure the place itſelf, it is very neceſſary to fortify the entrance of the river. Since the Marattas have got ſea-ports of their own, they infeſt the ſea about Malabar with their piracies. Thoſe banditti even attempt to land, wherever they think there is ſome booty to be got. Mahé would not be ſecure from their attacks, if it contained money or commodities to tempt them.

THE French might make themſelves ample amends for any expences they ſhould incur, if they

BOOK IV.

they did but carry on their trade with ſpirit and ſkill. Their factory is the beſt ſituated for the pepper trade; and the country would afford 2,500,000 pounds weight of that commodity. What could not be conſumed in Europe might be ſold in China, on the Red Sea, and at Bengal. A pound of pepper would ſtand them in twelve ſous *, and they would ſell it for twenty-five or thirty †.

THIS advantage, conſiderable as it is, would be increaſed by the profits upon European goods which would be carried over to Mahé. Thoſe who are beſt acquainted with that factory are of opinion, that it will be an eaſy matter to diſpoſe of 400,000 weight of iron, 200,000 of lead, 25,000 of copper, 2000 firelocks, 20,000 weight of gun-powder, 50 anchors or grapplings, 50 bales of cloth, 50,000 ells of ſail-cloth, a good quantity of quickſilver, and about 200 caſks of wine or brandy, for the French ſettled in the colony, or for the Engliſh in the neighbourhood. Theſe ſeveral articles together would produce at leaſt 384,000 livres ‡, of which 153,600 § would be clear gain, allowing the profit to be 40 per cent. Another advantage attending this circulation is, that there will always be a ſtock in the factory, which will enable them to purchaſe the productions of the country in the ſeaſons of the year when they are cheapeſt.

* About 6d ¼. † About 1s. 4d. on an average. ‡ 16,800l. § 6,720l.

THE

THE greateſt obſtacle to trade is the cuſtom-houſe eſtabliſhed in the colony. Half the duties belong to the ſovereign of that country, and this has always been a ſubject of contention. The Engliſh of Tellichery, who laboured under the ſame grievance, have found means to prevent all diſputes about theſe duties, by paying a certain yearly ſum as an equivalent. The French might do the ſame; but they cannot expect that the prince would agree to it, unleſs they previouſly pay him the ſums he has lent, and no longer refuſe him the tribute ſtipulated for the benefit of living peaceably upon his territories. Matters cannot be ſo eaſily adjuſted at Bengal.

Preſent ſtate of the French at Bengal.

FRANCE has engaged by the treaty of 1763, to erect no fortifications and keep no troops in that rich and extenſive country. The Engliſh, who are ſovereigns there, will never ſuffer the French to deviate from what they have required. So that Chandernagore, which before the laſt war reckoned 60,000 ſouls, and has now but 24,000, is and always will be entirely an open place.

To this misfortune of a precarious ſituation may be added injuries and hardſhips of every kind. Not ſatisfied with the poſſeſſion of unlimited authority, the Engliſh have been guilty of the moſt ſcandalous enormities. They have inſulted the French in their work-ſhops; ſeduced their workmen, cut the linens off of the looms; inſiſted that the manufacturers ſhould do no work but for them in the three beſt months of the year; and that their own ladings ſhould be picked out and completed, before any thing was removed out

BOOK IV.

out of the work-ſhops. The ſcheme which the French and Dutch had contrived together, of making an exact eſtimate of the number of weavers, taking only half between them, and leaving the reſt to the Engliſh, has been conſidered as an inſult. That ruling nation have proceeded ſo far as to declare, that they would have their factors buy the goods in Chandernagore; and the French have been forced to ſubmit to this hardſhip, or they would have been excluded from every market in Bengal. In a word, they have ſo much abuſed the unjuſt right of victory, that a philoſopher might be tempted to wiſh for the ruin of their liberty, were not the people infinitely more oppreſſive and cruel under the government of one man, than under a government tempered by the influence of many.

As long as things remain upon the preſent footing in that opulent part of Aſia, the French will meet with perpetual hardſhips and mortifications, and therefore no ſolid and laſting advantage can accrue to trade. They would be reſcued from this diſgrace, if they could exchange Chandernagore for Chatigan.

CHATIGAN is ſituated on the confines of Arracan. The Portugueſe, who in the days of their proſperity endeavoured to get all the important poſts in India into their own hands, made a conſiderable eſtabliſhment at that place. Thoſe who were ſettled there threw off the yoke of their native country, when it became a part of the Spaniſh dominions, chuſing rather to turn pirates than to be ſlaves. They long infeſted the neighbouring coaſts and ſeas

ſeas with their depredations. At laſt they were attacked by the Moguls, who raiſed a colony upon their ruins, powerful enough to prevent any inroads which the people of Arracan and Pegu might be tempted to make into Bengal. This place then ſunk into obſcurity till 1758, when the Engliſh arrived and ſettled there.

THE climate is healthy, the waters excellent, and proviſions are in great plenty; the landing is eaſy, and the anchorage ſafe. The continent and the iſland of Sandiva make a tolerable harbour. The rivers Barramputri and Etki, which are branches of the Ganges, or at leaſt communicate with it, greatly facilitate commercial operations. If Chatigan is further off of Patna, Caſſimbuzar, and ſome other markets, than the European colonies on the river Hughly, it is nearer Jogdia, Dacca, and all the manufactures of the lower river. It is a matter of no conſequence, whether ſhips of burden can or cannot enter the Ganges on that ſide, as the inland navigation is never carried on but with boats.

THOUGH the knowledge they had of theſe advantages had determined the Engliſh to ſeize upon Chatigan, we are apt to think they would have given it up at the laſt peace to get rid of the French, and remove them from a place which lies too near them, and which long habit has endeared to them. We even preſume, that at Chatigan the Engliſh would have deſiſted from thoſe conditions they required at Chandernagore, which ſtamp a diſgrace upon the poſſeſſors, more detrimental to the ſchemes of commerce than it is poſ-
ſible

ſible to conceive. Trade is a free profeſſion. The ſea, the voyages, the riſque, and the viciſſitudes of fortune, all inſpire a love of independence. This gives life and ſpirit to trade, which, when confined, languiſhes and is loſt.

THE preſent opportunity is, perhaps, a favourable one, to think of the exchange we propoſe. The fortifications which the Engliſh had begun to erect at Chatigan, having been thrown down by frequent earthquakes, they have taken a diſlike to the place. As to the French, this inconvenience, great as it is, would be preferable to that of living in a defenceleſs town. It is better to ſtrive againſt nature than againſt men, and be expoſed to the ſhocks of the earth than to the inſults of nations. The French, though reſtrained at Bengal, fortunately meet with ſome compenſation, enjoying a better ſituation on the coaſt of Coromandel.

Preſent ſituation of the French upon the coaſt of Coromandel.

To the north of that very extenſive coaſt, they poſſeſs Yanam, in the province of Rajahmandry. This factory, which has no land belonging to it, and is ſituated nine miles from the mouth of the river Ingerom, was formerly a very flouriſhing one. From miſtaken motives it was neglected about the year 1748. It would, however, afford goods to the value of 4 or 500,000 livres *, as the cotton manufactures are very conſiderable in that neighbourhood, and the cottons remarkably fine and good. It has been found by experience to be a good market for diſpoſing of European cloth.

* About 19,700l.

2 The

The trade of this place would be more lucrative, if they were not obliged to ſhare the profit with the Engliſh, who have a ſmall ſettlement within two miles of the French.

THE competition is much more detrimental to their intereſt at Maſulipatam. The French, who formerly were maſters of the whole town, but have nothing left now except the factory they had before 1749, cannot poſſibly contend with the Engliſh, who make them pay duty for all their imports and exports, and enjoy beſides all the favour in their own trade which ſovereignty can command. Things being thus circumſtanced, the French confine their dealings to the purchaſe of ſome fine handkerchiefs and other callicoes, to the value of 150,000 livres*. It is far otherwiſe at Karical.

THAT town, ſituated in the kingdom of Tanjour, on one of the branches of the Coleroon, which will bear ſhips of 150 tons burden, was ceded to the company in 1738, by a dethroned king, who was in want of protection. Having been reſtored before he had fulfilled his engagements, he retracted the gift he had made. A nabob attacked the place with his army, and in 1739 gave it up to the French, who were in friendſhip with him. Soon after this, the ungrateful and perfidious prince was ſtrangled by the intrigues of his uncles; and his ſucceſſor, who had inherited his enemies with his throne, being deſirous of obtaining the friendſhip of a powerful

* 6,562l. 10s.

BOOK IV.

nation, confirmed them in their poſſeſſion. The Engliſh took the place in 1760, and blew up the fortifications. It was afterwards reſtored to the French, who returned thither in 1765.

In its preſent ſtate, Karical is an open place, which may contain 15,000 inhabitants, moſt of them employed in weaving ordinary handkerchiefs, and cottons for the wear of the natives. The territory belonging to it, which has been conſiderably increaſed by the conceſſions which the king of Tanjour made in 1749, is now once more what it was at firſt, two leagues in length, and one league in the broadeſt part. It is compoſed of fifteen hamlets, of which one only deſerves our notice; this is called Tirumale-Rayenpatnam, and contains no leſs than 25,000 ſouls. They weave and paint Perſians that are pretty fine, fit for Batavia and the Philippine iſlands. The Coolies and Mohammedans have ſmall veſſels, with which they trade to Ceylon, and along the coaſt.

France may draw annually from this ſettlement, two hundred bales of cottons or handkerchiefs fit for Europe, and a large quantity of rice for the ſubſiſtence of her other colonies.

All goods bought at Karical, Yanam and Maſulipatam, are carried to Pondicherry, the chief ſettlement of the French in India.

This town, which roſe from ſuch ſmall beginnings, in time became a great, powerful and famous city. The ſtreets, which are all ſtrait, and moſt of them broad, are lined with two rows of trees, which keep them cool even in the heat of the day. The moſt remarkable public edifices are

are a mosque, two pagodas, two churches, and the governor's house, which is reckoned the most magnificent building in the east. They had erected a small citadel in the year 1704, but it is of no use, since they have been allowed to build houses all round it. To supply the loss of this defence, three sides of the town had been fortified with a rampart, a ditch, bastions, and a glacis which was unfinished in some places. The road was defended by some batteries judiciously placed.

THE town, which was a full league in circumference, contained 70,000 inhabitants, of which 4000 were Europeans, Mestees, or Topasses. There were at most 10,000 Mohammedans; the rest were Indians, 15,000 of which were Christians, and the others of seventeen or eighteen different casts or tribes. Three villages, dependent on the town, might contain 10,000 souls.

SUCH was the state of the colony, when the English made themselves masters of it in the beginning of the year 1761, utterly destroyed it, and turned out the inhabitants. Others may, perhaps, examine whether the barbarous right of war could justify such enormities. Let us turn away our eyes from so many cruelties committed by a free, magnanimous, and enlightened nation, and consider only the resolution France has taken to restore Pondicherry to its former splendour. Every thing concurs to justify the wisdom of this choice.

THIS town, like all others on the coast of Coromandel, has no harbour, but it has a much more commodious road. The ships can anchor close

to the ſhore, under the cannon of the fortifications. Its territory, which is three leagues long and one league broad, is nothing more than a barren ſand bank on the ſea coaſt; but the greateſt part is fit for the culture of rice, vegetables, and a root called chaya, which is uſed in dying. Two ſmall rivers that croſs the country, but are not navigable, afford excellent water for the ſame purpoſe, particularly for the blue dye. Three miles to the north-eaſt of the town is a hill, which riſes a hundred toiſes above the level of the ſea, and is a guide to ſhips at the diſtance of ſeven or eight leagues, which is a very conſiderable advantage upon ſo flat a coaſt. At the top of this hill is a very large body of water, that has been collecting for ages; and after refreſhing and fertilizing a ſpacious territory, flows down to water the grounds about Pondicherry. Laſtly, the colony is favourably ſituated for the reception of proviſions and merchandiſe from the Carnatic, the kingdoms of Myſore and Tanjour.

Such were the important reaſons which determined France to rebuild Pondicherry. As ſoon as her agents appeared on the 11th of April 1765, the unfortunate Indians, who had been diſperſed by the calamities of war, and by political intrigues, flocked thither in great numbers. By the beginning of the year 1770, there were 27,000 who had rebuilt their ruined houſes. They are all brought up in the idea that no man can be happy who does not die in the very place where he firſt ſaw the light. This prejudice, ſo pleaſing to them, and which it may be ſo uſeful to keep up, will undoubt-

undoubtedly make them all return, as ſoon as the town is incloſed. The weavers, the dyers, the painters, the merchants, thoſe who have ſome property to preſerve, only wait for this ſecurity to follow their inclination.

In their preſent ſtate, the French factories in India are very expenſive, and the returns from them inconſiderable. Unfortunately this diſadvantage is not compenſated by the iſlands of France and Bourbon, which have not attained to that degree of proſperity that might be expected.

Preſent ſituation of the French in the Iſle of France.

The latter of theſe iſlands was much extolled; but more ſpeculation than induſtry was beſtowed upon it, and the owners loſt their time in conjectures concerning the uſe it might be put to.

Some were inclined to make a mart of it, where all India goods ſhould center. They were to be brought thither on Indian bottoms, and then ſhipped on board French veſſels, which were never to go any further. A double advantage was thought to ariſe from this ſcheme; firſt, in the leſſening of expences, as both the pay and the maintenance of Indian ſailors is very trifling; and ſecondly, in the preſervation of the ſhips crews, which are often deſtroyed by too long a voyage, and ſtill more frequently by the climate, eſpecially at Bengal and in Arabia. This ſyſtem, which ought, perhaps, to have been adopted, was conſidered as impracticable, on account of the ſuppoſed neceſſity of maintaining a formidable fleet on the ſeas of Aſia, to prevent or check the inſults that are often committed in thoſe parts.

Others were of opinion that the inhabitants

 of

of the Isle of France should be allowed to trade to India, which they had never yet been suffered to do. The supporters of this system maintained, that the proposed freedom would prove an abundant source of wealth to the colony, and consequently to the mother-country. They might be in the right, but the trials that have been made have not proved successful; and without examining whether this innovation had been judiciously conducted, it was resolved that the island should be entirely confined to agriculture.

THIS new regulation gave rise to fresh mistakes. Men were sent from Europe to the colony, who neither understood husbandry nor were accustomed to labour. The lands were distributed at a venture, and without distinguishing what was to be cleared from what did not want it. Money was advanced to the planters, not in proportion to their industry, but to the interest they could make with the government. The company, who got cent. per cent. upon the commodities the colony drew from Europe, and fifty per cent. upon those that were sent in from India, required that the produce of the country should be delivered into their warehouses at a very low price. The oppression of monopoly was aggravated by the tyranny of endless and needless services. To complete the misfortunes of the colony, the company, who had kept all the power in their own hands, broke the engagements they had entered into with their subjects, or rather with their slaves.

UNDER such a government, no improvements could be expected. Nothing was carried on with steadiness.

ſteadineſs. The culture of cotton, indigo, ſugar, arnotto, pepper, tea, cocoa, were all tried, but with ſo little attention, that no advantage was procured from them. In purſuing chimerical projects, the eſſential cultures were neglected. Though in the year 1765 there were in the colony 1469 white people, beſides the troops; 1587 Indians or free negroes; 11,881 ſlaves; their productions did not amount to more than 320,650 pounds weight of wheat, 47,430 pounds of rice, 1,570,040 pounds of maize, 142,700 pounds of kidney-beans, 135,500 pounds of oats. Thoſe who had an opportunity of ſeeing and obſerving the agriculture of the Iſle of France, found it little better than what they had ſeen among the ſavages.

Some uſeful alterations have been made in the colony ſince it has been in the hands of government. The culture of coffee has ſince been introduced there, as it had long been at Bourbon. This has been attended with ſo much ſucceſs, that there is reaſon to expect, that ſix or ſeven millions weight may, in time, be gathered, if a prudent adminiſtration will only ſupply the means of improving this culture; ſince without ſuch aſſiſtance, no colony can poſſibly proſper. Theſe hopes have been encouraged by the proſpect of another advantage.

It is well known that for theſe two hundred years, the Dutch have been enriching themſelves by the ſale of cloves and nutmeg. To ſecure to themſelves the excluſive trade of theſe articles, they have enſlaved or utterly deſtroyed the nation

 that

that was in poſſeſſion of thoſe ſpices; and leſt the price of them ſhould fall even in their own hands, they have rooted up moſt of the trees, and frequently burn the fruit of thoſe they had preſerved. This infamous avidity, which has ſo often excited the indignation of other nations, ſo ſtrongly exaſperated Mr. Poivre, (who had travelled all over Aſia as a naturaliſt and a philoſopher) that he availed himſelf of the authority he was intruſted with in the Iſle of France, and ſent men into the leaſt frequented parts of the Moluccas, to ſearch for what avarice had hitherto witholden from the reſt of the world. The labours of thoſe intrepid and ſagacious navigators in whom he confided, were crowned with ſucceſs.

On the 24th of June 1770, they brought to the Iſle of France 400 nutmeg-trees; 10,000 nutmegs, either growing or ready to grow; 70 clove trees, and a cheſt of cloves, ſome of which were growing, and already ſprung up.

This rich prize was diſtributed amongſt the coloniſts, to try all the different ſoils, and every aſpect. Moſt of the young plants died, and the reſt will not probably bear any fruit. But whatever may happen, the Iſle of France muſt always be allowed to be one of the moſt valuable poſſeſſions for any nation deſirous of trading to Aſia.

It is ſituated in the African ſeas, juſt at the entrance of the Indian ocean. As it lies a little out of the common track, its expeditions can be carried on with greater ſecrecy. Thoſe who wiſh it was nearer our continent, do not conſider that if it were ſo, it would be impoſſible to reach the coaſts

coasts of Malabar and Coromandel in a month's time, and the most distant gulphs in two months at most, which is an inestimable advantage to a nation that has no sea-port in India. This island, though in the same latitude as the barren and scorching coasts of Africa, is temperate and healthful. The soil is stony, but tolerably fertile. Experience has shewn that it will produce most of the necessaries and even of the luxuries of life. Whatever it may want, may be supplied from Madagascar, which abounds with provisions, and from Bourbon, where the inhabitants have retained their simplicity of manners, and a taste for husbandry. The iron that may be wanted, and cannot be procured from those two islands, might be digged out of their own mines.

It behoves the court of Versailles to fortify the Isle of France and Pondicherry, if it will have any share in the trade of India.

GREAT BRITAIN sees with a jealous eye, her rivals possessed of a settlement which may prove the ruin of her flourishing trade with Asia. At the breaking out of a war, her utmost efforts will certainly be aimed at a colony that threatens her richest treasures. What a misfortune for France, should she suffer herself to be deprived of it!

YET this is by no means improbable, if we consider that hitherto there has been no settled plan for fortifying this island; that the means have always been wanting, or misapplied; that the ministry of Lewis XV. have constantly waited for the dispatches of the administrators to come to a determination, just as one would wait for the return of a courier from the frontiers. Far from supposing that the besiegers would meet with an insurmountable resistance, it is to be feared they would

would ſucceed in their deſign by the forces they have in India without any ſuccours from Europe.

But it is now time to deliver our opinion without reſerve. Whoever ſurveys the coaſts of the Iſle of France, muſt be aſtoniſhed to ſee them every where acceſſible to boats. Though they are ſurrounded with reefs, there are many bays where troops may be landed under cover of the ſhips guns.

In thoſe parts of the iſland where veſſels are obliged to keep further out, the ſea is ſo calm and ſmooth between the reef and the land, that boats may come up in the night without the leaſt danger.

If in ſome places between the reef and the land, the water is too ſhallow for the boats to come aſhore, there the troops may land, becauſe the water will not come up to their knees. The ſea is ſo calm between the land and the reefs, that this landing may be effected with the greateſt ſafety. A retreat is more eaſily ſecured in caſe of reſiſtance, and the boats will be leſs expoſed while the landing is carried on.

This is the true idea we are to frame of the Iſle of France; for if we ſometimes meet with a point where a boat cannot land, we are ſure of finding an opening at twenty toiſes to the right or left. The enemy therefore will never attempt to force a landing, unleſs they are too raſh or ignorant of the ſituation. As it is impoſſible to guard a coaſt that meaſures forty leagues, there will always be ſome defenceleſs place fit for landing.

During the laſt war, batteries had been erected all round the iſland, which pointing to the ſea,

ſea, could only fire upon ſhips anchored at a diſtance, or under ſail. Some able engineers have diſcovered that theſe batteries, erected at a great expence, ſerved no other purpoſe but to divide the forces; that they would be left without defence, as they were uſeleſs; and that they would not reſiſt the fire of the ſhips, which the beſt fortifications cannot ſtand againſt. They are now abandoned, and nothing has been ſubſtituted in their room.

THE harbour on the north-weſt ſide is the capital part of the iſland, and muſt be the enemy's principal object in their plan for an attack. The nature of the ground will not admit of fortifying it in ſuch a manner as to enable it to ſtand a ſiege. This ſhould be ſecured from a ſurpriſe, and a central ſpot in the internal part of the country ſhould be fortified, from whence, by means of communications properly diſpoſed, the forces of the colony might be ſent with expedition to any part where they might be wanted.

WITH ſuch a poſt of defence as a laſt reſource, the enemy would be obliged to fight a number of battles before the iſland could be ſubdued. Neither could this be effected, if the roads cut through the woods, and which lead from the internal parts of the iſland to the ſea-ſhore, were ſo artfully contrived as to facilitate the march of the beſieged towards the ſhore, and at the ſame time to obſtruct the progreſs of the enemy towards the inland parts. The nature of the country will admit of this: it is full of ravines which muſt be croſſed, and of mountains which interrupt the march.

march. It is an eaſy matter to ſeize the moſt advantageous ſituation.

However, there is ſo neceſſary and abſolute a connection between the Iſle of France and Pondicherry, that thoſe two poſſeſſions are entirely dependent on each other; for, without the Iſle of France, there would be no protection for the ſettlements in India; and without Pondicherry, the Iſle of France would be expoſed to the invaſion of the Engliſh from Aſia as well as from Europe.

The Iſle of France and Pondicherry, when conſidered as having a neceſſary and mutual connection, will be a ſecurity to one another. Pondicherry will protect the Iſle of France, as being the rival of Madraſs, which the Engliſh muſt always cover with their land and ſea forces; and, on the other hand, the Iſle of France will always be ready to ſuccour Pondicherry, or to act offenſively, as circumſtances ſhall require.

From theſe principles it appears how neceſſary it is to put Pondicherry immediately in a ſtate of defence. Ever ſince the year 1764, private intereſt that claſhes with that of the nation, has made it a matter of doubt which was the beſt plan of fortification for this important place. Conſiderable ſums have already been expended upon this point, and without any effect, becauſe they have been ſucceſſively laid out upon contrary ſyſtems. It would be needleſs to dwell upon the miſchiefs attending theſe perpetual irreſolutions.

When the Iſle of France and Pondicherry are once put in a proper poſture of defence, trade may then be thought of, which ceaſed to exiſt from the

the moment it became free. Indeed the voyages to China have continued; thoſe to the iſlands of France and Bourbon have even increaſed: but except one or two expeditions, which were owing to particular circumſtances, no prudent merchant has ſent his property to Malabar, Coromandel or Bengal; and the few who have ventured to do it, have been ruined. It could not be otherwiſe, and yet no inference can be drawn from thence in favour of excluſive privileges.

The French being once firmly eſtabliſhed in India, will ſhake off the oppreſſion which the Engliſh impoſed upon them.

It may be remembered that the ruin of the company, which would have happened of itſelf, was haſtened by avarice and animoſity. Political views, which had had no ſhare in this event, had not paved the way for the gradual introduction of that public and open trade which was to ſupply the place of the trade carried on by an excluſive charter. The ſudden tranſition, therefore, from one to the other, could not poſſibly ſucceed. Before the new ſyſtem had been adopted, private merchants ought to have been inſenſibly and by degrees employed to continue the commerce in lieu of the company. They ſhould have been inſtructed how to acquire a thorough knowledge of the ſeveral branches of a trade to which they were utter ſtrangers. It would have been neceſſary to allow them time to form connections in the factories; and to favour and aſſiſt them in their firſt expeditions.

But all theſe precautions would ſtill have been inſufficient to inſure the ſucceſs of the French traders in India. It was impoſſible they ſhould be able to ſtrive againſt the Engliſh, who being maſters

maſters of every branch of trade, and in all places, had all the advantages reſulting from power, and from the looſe principles which proſperity inſpires, to enable them to defeat all attempts of this kind. In whatever manner, therefore, or in whatever ſhape the trade of France was carried on, it was a neceſſary conſequence of the ſituation of affairs that it muſt ſuffer greatly. It would undoubtedly meet with leſs oppoſition, if the court of Verſailles were to put the ſettlements in India in a condition to grant that protection which every ſovereign owes to his ſubjects throughout his dominions. This oppoſition would ſtill be leſſened in a greater degree, if the Britiſh miniſtry would watch over the execution of treaties with that ſteadineſs which juſtice requires. But this oppreſſion, equally diſgraceful to the nation that ſuffers from it, and to the nation which allows it, can never be effectually removed, but by reſtoring the balance between them, and unfortunately this can only be done by a war.

Far be it from us to ſuggeſt any idea that would tend to rekindle the flames of diſcord. Rather let the voice of reaſon and philoſophy be heard by the rulers of the world. May all ſovereigns, after ſo many ages of error, learn to prefer the virtuous glory of making a few men happy, to the mad ambition of reigning over waſted regions, and people groaning under the weight of oppreſſion! May all men become brethren, accuſtom themſelves to conſider the univerſe as one family under the eye of one common father! But theſe wiſhes, which are thoſe of every

ſeſible

ſenſible and humane man, will appear as idle dreams to ambitious miniſters, who hold the reins of empire. Their buſy and reſtleſs diſpoſition will ſtill ſhed torrents of blood.

SOME pitiful commercial intereſt will again arm the French and the Engliſh. Though Great Britain, in moſt of her wars, has aimed chiefly at deſtroying the induſtry of her neighbours, and though the ſuperiority of her naval forces may ſtill keep up this hope, which has ſo often been diſappointed, we may ſafely foretell that ſhe would chuſe to remove the ſcene of action from the ſeas of Aſia, where ſhe would have ſo little to gain, and ſo much to loſe. That power is not ignorant of the ſecret wiſhes formed on all ſides for the overthrow of an edifice, which eclipſes all the reſt. The ſubah of Bengal is ſecretly exaſperated that he has not even the appearance of authority left. The ſubah of the Decan is inconſolable to ſee his commerce under the controul of a foreign power. The nabob of Arcot endeavours to diſpel the jealouſies of his tyrants. The Marattas are exaſperated to find nothing but obſtacles to their depredations. All the powers in thoſe parts, either are actually enſlaved, or think themſelves on the eve of being ſo. England, we may preſume, would not wiſh to ſee the French at the head of ſuch a confederacy. On the contrary, we may venture to foretell that a ſtrict neutrality for India would be the wiſeſt plan they could purſue, and one they would moſt readily adopt.

BUT would this ſyſtem be as eligible for their rivals? Certainly not. The French are aware, that

that warlike preparations made at the Iſle of France might be employed with advantage; that the conqueſts of the Engliſh are too extenſive not to be open to attacks; and that ſince their experienced officers are returned home, the Britiſh poſſeſſions in Indoſtan are only guarded by young people, who are more intent upon making their fortunes than upon military exerciſes. It is, therefore, to be preſumed, that a warlike nation would eagerly ſeize an opportunity of repairing their former misfortunes. At the ſight of their ſtandards, all theſe oppreſſed ſovereigns would take the field; and the rulers of India, ſurrounded with enemies, and attacked at once on the north and on the ſouth, by ſea and by land, would infallibly be overpowered.

THEN the French, conſidered as the deliverers of Indoſtan, would emerge from that ſtate of humiliation into which their own miſconduct hath plunged them. They would become the idols of the princes and people of Aſia, provided the revolution they brought about proved to them a leſſon of moderation. Their trade would be extenſive and flouriſhing ſo long as they knew how to be juſt. But this proſperity would end in ſome fatal cataſtrophe, ſhould an inordinate ambition prompt them to plunder, ravage and oppreſs. To give ſtability to their ſituation, they muſt even, by noble and generous proceedings, oblige their rivals to overlook their advantages. No great degree of magnanimity will be requiſite, patiently to view the operations of the northern nations of Europe in the ſeas of Aſia.

BOOK

B O O K V.

Trade of Denmark, Oſtend, Sweden, Pruſſia, Spain, and Ruſſia, to the Eaſt Indies. Some important inquiries concerning the connections of Europe with India.

BOOK V.

Ancient revolutions in Denmark.

IT is the general opinion, that in the earlieſt times, a people called the Cimbri poſſeſſed, at the extremity of Germania, the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus, now known by the name of Holſtein, Sleſwic and Jutland; and that the Teutones lived in the adjacent iſlands. Whether theſe people had or had not the ſame origin, certain it is, that they came out of their foreſts or out of their marſhes together in a body, and as one nation, and penetrated among the Gauls, in queſt of booty, glory, and a milder climate. They were even preparing to croſs the Alps, when Rome thought it was proper to ſtem a torrent which carried all before it. Thoſe barbarians triumphed over all the generals that proud republic ſent to oppoſe them, till the memorable æra when they were totally defeated by Marius.

THEIR country, which became almoſt a deſert after that terrible cataſtrophe, was peopled again by the Scythians, who, being driven by Pompey

BOOK V.

out of that vaſt ſpace between the Euxine and the Caſpian ſea, marched towards the north and weſt of Europe, ſubduing all the nations they found in their way. They conquered Ruſſia, Saxony, Weſtphalia, the Cimbrian Cherſoneſus, and the countries as far as Finland, Norway and Sweden. It is pretended that Wodin their leader traverſed ſo many countries, and endeavoured to ſubdue them, only with a view to excite the people againſt the formidable, odious and tyrannical power of the Romans. That ſpirit of animoſity which he had excited in the north, operated ſecretly with ſo much force after his death, that in a few centuries all nations agreed to turn their arms againſt that empire, the declared enemy of all liberty; and after having ſhaken it by repeated attacks, were at length ſucceſsful enough totally to ſubvert it.

DENMARK and Norway remained without inhabitants after theſe glorious expeditions. By inſenſible degrees they recovered their former ſtate, and began to be of ſome conſequence again towards the beginning of the eighth century. Their valour now exerted itſelf, not on land, but on the ocean. Surrounded as they were by two ſeas, they commenced pirates, which is always the firſt ſtep towards navigation in uncivilized nations.

THEY firſt made trial of their ſtrength againſt the neighbouring ſtates, and ſeized the few merchant ſhips they found ſailing up and down the Baltic. Emboldened by theſe ſucceſſes, they were enabled to plan more conſiderable undertakings.

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They infested the seas and coasts of Scotland, Ireland, England, Flanders, France, and even of Spain, Italy and Greece. They frequently penetrated into the inland parts of those extensive countries, and even ventured upon the conquest of Normandy and England. Notwithstanding the confusion that reigns in the annals of those barbarous times, we may still trace some of the causes of so many extraordinary events.

THE inhabitants of Denmark and Norway had originally a strong propensity to piracy, which has always been observed in people bordering upon the sea, when they are not restrained by civilization and good laws. Custom must necessarily have made the ocean familiar to them, and inured them to its storms. Having no agriculture, breeding but few cattle, and finding but a scanty resource from the chace, in a country covered with ice and snow, they could have no strong attachment to their native land. The facility with which they built their ships, which were nothing more than rafts coarsely put together for the purpose of sailing along the coasts, enabled them to go to all parts, to land their forces, to plunder, and to reimbark. Piracy was to them what it had been to the first heroes of Greece, the road to glory and fortune; an honourable profession, which consisted in a contempt of all danger. This idea inspired them with invincible courage in their expeditions, sometimes under the joint command of different chiefs, and sometimes divided into as many armaments as nations. These sudden attacks, made in a variety of places

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at the ſame time, left only to the inhabitants of the coaſts, which were but ill defended in conſequence of their being under a bad government, the dreadful alternative either of being maſſacred, or giving up all their property to redeem their lives.

THIS propenſity to plunder was a natural conſequence of the ſavage life of the Danes and Norwegians, and of the rough and military education they received; but it was more particularly the effect of the religion of Wodin. That victorious impoſtor improved, if we may be allowed to ſay ſo, the natural fierceneſs of thoſe nations by his ſanguinary tenets. He ordered that all the implements of war, ſuch as ſwords, axes, and lances, ſhould be deified. The moſt ſacred engagements were confirmed by theſe inſtruments which they ſo highly valued. A lance ſet up in the middle of a plain, was the ſignal for prayer and ſacrifice. Wodin himſelf at his death was ranked among the immortal gods, and was the firſt deity of thoſe horrid regions, where the rocks and woods were ſtained and conſecrated with human blood. His followers thought they honoured him by calling him the god of armies, the father of ſlaughter, the deſtroyer of mankind, the promoter of diſcord. The warriors, when they went to battle, made a vow to ſend him a certain number of ſouls which they devoted to him. Theſe ſouls were the right of Wodin. It was the general belief, that he appeared in every battle, either to protect thoſe who fought valiantly, or to mark out the happy victims he reſerved

ſerved for himſelf. That theſe followed him to the regions of bliſs, which were open to none but warriors. The people ran to death, and to martyrdom, to obtain this reward. This belief increaſed their natural propenſity to war, till it grew to enthuſiaſm, and to a religious thirſt for blood.

CHRISTIANITY overthrew all the ideas reſulting from ſuch a ſyſtem. Its miſſionaries endeavoured to bring their proſelytes to a ſedentary life, that they might be fit to receive their inſtructions. They gave them a diſguſt for their roving life, by ſuggeſting to them other means of ſubſiſtence. They were ſo fortunate as to inſpire them with a love of agriculture, and more eſpecially of fiſhing. The great plenty of herrings which then came in ſhoals to their coaſts, afforded them an eaſy means of procuring food. When they had ſet apart a ſufficient quantity of theſe fiſh for their own uſe, in order to preſerve it, they bartered the remainder for ſalt. This intercourſe was encouraged at its riſe by one common faith, new proſpects, mutual wants, and great ſafety. Such a total revolution enſued, that ſince the converſion of the Danes and Norwegians, not a ſingle inſtance is to be found in hiſtory, of their expeditions and depredations.

THE new ſpirit, which ſeemed to animate Norway and Denmark, could not fail of extending their communication with the other nations of Europe. Unfortunately it was intercepted by the aſcendant which the Hanſe towns had acquired. Even when that great and ſingular confede-

 racy

racy fell into decay, Hamburgh ſtill maintained the ſuperiority it had obtained over all the ſubjects of the Daniſh dominions. They were beginning to break the bands that had ſubjected them to this kind of monopoly, when they were induced to undertake the navigation to the Eaſt Indies, by an incident that deſerves to be noticed.

Denmark begins to carry on a trade with India.

A DUTCH factor, named Boſchower, being ſent by his nation to conclude a treaty of commerce with the king of Ceylon, ſo ingratiated himſelf with that monarch, that he became chief of his council, his admiral, and was created prince of Mingone. Boſchower, intoxicated with theſe honours, haſtened to Europe to make a parade of them before his countrymen. He took great offence at the coldneſs with which thoſe republicans received the titled ſlave of an Aſiatic court; and was ſo highly provoked at it, that he went over to Chriſtiern IV. king of Denmark, and offered him his ſervices, and the intereſt he had at Ceylon. His propoſals were accepted. He ſailed in 1618, with ſix ſhips, three of which belonged to the government, and three to the company that had aſſociated themſelves to carry on a trade to India. His death, which happened in their paſſage, put an end to the hopes they had conceived. The Danes met with a very bad reception at Ceylon, and their chief, Ové Giedde de Tommerup, ſaw no other reſource than to carry them to Tanjour, a part of the continent neareſt to that iſland.

TANJOUR

TANJOUR is a ſmall ſtate, which is but a hundred miles in its greateſt length, and eighty in its greateſt breadth. It is of all that coaſt the province that bears the greateſt quantity of rice. This natural wealth, added to a variety of uſeful manufactures, and a great plenty of roots for dying, makes the public revenue amount to near five millions *. Its fertility is owing to its being watered by the Caveri, a river which comes down from the mountains of Gate. At upwards of four hundred miles from the head, it divides into two ſtreams. At the entrance of Tanjour, the eaſtern branch takes the name of Coleroon. The other retains the name of Caveri, and ſubdivides again into four branches, which all flow within the kingdom, and preſerve it from that terrible drought which burns up the reſt of Coromandel for the greateſt part of the year.

THIS happy ſituation made the Danes wiſh to form a ſettlement in Tanjour. Their propoſals met with a favourable reception. They obtained a fruitful and populous territory, on which they built Tranquebar, and afterwards the fortreſs of Dannebourg, ſufficient for the defence both of the road and the town. On their part they engaged to pay an annual homage of 16,500 livres †, which is continued to this time.

CIRCUMSTANCES were favourable for eſtabliſhing a large commerce. The Portugueſe, who groaned under the oppreſſion of a foreign yoke, made only feeble efforts to preſerve their poſ-

* 218,750l. † About 722l.

ſeſſions. The Spaniards ſent no ſhips but to the Molucca and Philippine iſlands; and the Dutch were ſolely intent upon engroſſing the ſpice trade. The Engliſh felt the effects of the diſturbances their country laboured under, even in India. All theſe powers could not ſee this new rival without regret, but none oppoſed it.

In conſequence of this, the Danes, who ſet out with a capital of no more than 853,263 livres*, carried on a pretty conſiderable trade in all parts of India. Unhappily the Dutch company acquired ſuch a ſuperiority, as to exclude them from the markets where they had traded moſt advantageouſly; and by a ſtill greater misfortune, the diſſentions that rent the north of Europe, would not permit the mother-country to attend to ſuch remote concerns as thoſe of this ſettlement. The Danes at Tranquebar inſenſibly fell into contempt, both with the natives, who value men only in proportion to their riches, and with the rival nations, whoſe competition they could not ſuſtain. They were diſcouraged by this inferiority, and the company gave up their charter and made over their ſettlements to the government, as an indemnification for the ſums it had advanced.

Changes the Daniſh trade has undergone in India.

A NEW company was formed in 1670 upon the ruins of the old one. Chriſtiern V. gave them in ſhips and other effects, to the value of 310,828 livres, 10 ſous †, and the adventurers advanced 732,600 livres ‡. This ſecond under-

* About 37,330l. † 13,598l. 14s. 11d. ¾ ‡ 32,051l. 5s.

taking,

taking, which was entered upon without a sufficient fund, proved ſtill more unſucceſsful than the firſt. After a few voyages, the factory of Tranquebar was left to itſelf. Their ſmall territory and two veſſels that they freighted for the merchants of that country, were the only means they had to ſupply the inhabitants and their garriſon. Theſe reſources ſometimes failed them; and to ſave themſelves from the effects of famine, they were reduced to mortgage three of the four baſtions that conſtituted their fortreſs. They were ſcarce able to fit out a ſhip for Europe once in three years, with a very moderate cargo.

PITY ſeemed to be the only ſentiment that ſo deſperate a ſituation could inſpire. But the ever watchful jealouſy and ſuſpicious avarice of other nations, ſtirred up an odious war againſt the Danes. The Raja of Tanjour, who had frequently intercepted their communication with his territory, attacked them in 1689, in the very town of Tranquebar, at the inſtigation of the Dutch. That prince had nearly taken the place after a ſix months ſiege, when it was ſuccoured and ſaved by the Engliſh. This event neither was, nor could be attended with any important conſequences. The Daniſh company declined daily, and was at length totally ruined in 1730.

Two years after this a new company was formed, which ſtill ſubſiſts. The favours that were heaped upon it, to enable it to carry on a free and advantageous trade, plainly ſhew of what importance this commerce appeared to the government. The charter of the company is ſettled for forty

forty years. Whatever belongs to the fitting out of their ſhips, is exempted from all duties. The workmen they employ, whether natives or foreigners, are not tied down to the regulations of particular companies, which are a reſtraint upon induſtry in Denmark, as well as in other countries in Europe. They are not obliged to uſe ſtampt paper in their tranſactions. They have an abſolute juriſdiction over the perſons they employ; and the ſentences paſſed by the directors are not liable to be reverſed, unleſs the puniſhment is capital. To remove even the appearance of conſtraint, the ſovereign has renounced the right he has of interfering in the adminiſtration of their affairs, as being chief proprietor. He has no influence in the choice of officers, whether civil or military, and has only reſerved to himſelf a power of confirming the office of governor of Tranquebar. He has even bound himſelf to ratify all political conventions they may think proper to make with the Aſiatic powers.

In return for ſo many indulgences, government has only required one per cent. upon all merchandiſe of India and China which ſhould be ſent abroad, and two and a half per cent. upon all that ſhould be conſumed at home.

The grant containing the above conditions was no ſooner confirmed, than adventurers were ſought for; and to engage them the more eaſily, the ſtock was diſtinguiſhed into two different kinds. The firſt, called *fixed*, was that, in which all the effects the old company had in Europe and Aſia were

were deſtined to be inveſted. The other ſtock was called *variable*, becauſe every year it was regulated by the number, the lading and the expence of the ſhips the company thought proper to fit out. Every proprietor may chuſe whether he will be concerned in theſe expeditions, the profits of which are ſettled at the cloſe of every voyage. If any one ſhould decline to run the riſque, a circumſtance which has never yet happened, the chance would then be offered to another. By this arrangement, the company became permanent by the *fixed*, and annual by the *variable* ſtock.

It ſeemed a difficult matter to ſtate the ſhare of expence that each of theſe funds was to bear. Every thing was ſettled with more eaſe than was expected. It was agreed that the *variable* ſhould only pay the neceſſary expences for the purchaſe, the fitting out, and the cargoes of the ſhips. All other charges were to be defrayed from the *fixed* ſtock, which, by way of compenſation, was to take up ten per cent. upon all India goods which ſhould be ſold in Europe, and five per cent. upon all that ſhould be ſent out from Tranquebar. This continual addition to the *fixed* ſtock has ſo increaſed the capital, that inſtead of four hundred ſhares at 1125 livres *, which was the original ſtock of the company, it now conſiſts of ſixteen hundred ſhares at 1687l. 10s. †. It was ſettled at this number in 1755, and the duties which went to the increaſe of the *fixed* ſtock, have ever ſince been applied to the in-

* 49l. 4s. 4d. ½. † 73l. 16s. 1d. ½.

creaſing

BOOK V.

creasing of the dividend, which till then had been taken upon the profits of the *variable* stock.

EVERY proprietor, though but of a single share, has a vote at the general meetings. A proprietor of three shares has two votes; a proprietor of five has three votes, and so on in the same proportion to twenty shares, which entitle the proprietor to twelve votes; but no man can have any greater number.

WHEN the charter was renewed for twenty years in 1722, some new regulations were made. It has been stipulated that no member of the company should at any time have more than three votes, and that none should be allowed to give his vote in writing or by proxy.

State of the Danish trade in India.

DENMARK trades to the same parts of Asia as other European nations. The pepper brought from Malabar does not upon an average exceed sixty thousand weight a year.

EVERY circumstance would lead us to imagine that their trade must be considerable on the coast of Coromandel. They are in possession of an excellent territory; though it is but two leagues in circumference, the population amounts to thirty thousand souls. There are about ten thousand inhabitants in the town of Tranquebar; and twelve thousand more in a large village, where they work at ordinary manufactures. The rest are usefully employed in some smaller villages. Three hundred Danes, fifty of whom compose the garrison, are the only Europeans in the settlement. The expence of maintaining them amounts to no more

more than 96000 livres * a year, which is nearly the income drawn from them.

The factors of the company have but little business to transact. Two ships only are dispatched once in three years; which convey no more than 1800 bales of ordinary cotton, and whose freight does not exceed 1,500,000 livres †. The factors themselves do not know how to improve their leisure to the advancement of their own private fortune. They have no other expedient than to lend the small capital they have at their disposal to Indian merchants at a high interest: and indeed Tranquebar, though an ancient settlement, has not that appearance of industry and opulence which is observable in more modern settlements which have been conducted with spirit and skill. The French driven out of their own settlements had contributed to give it some degree of importance, but upon their leaving it, the settlement fell again into the same languid state as before. Yet the situation of the Danes in Coromandel is not so bad as at Bengal.

Soon after their arrival in Asia, they displayed their flag on the Ganges. Their ill success soon obliged them to quit it, and they never appeared there again till 1755. Commercial jealousy, which is become the ruling passion of our age, has frustrated their views upon Bankibasar, and they have been reduced to fix in the neighbourhood of that place. The French, who alone had supported the new factory, found a refuge there during the

* 4,200l. † 65,625l.

calamities

BOOK V.

calamities of the laſt war, and every aſſiſtance that friendſhip and gratitude could offer. Few ſhips come thither directly from Europe. Since 1757 there have been but two; both their cargoes together had coſt but 2,160,000 livres * at home.

THE trade to China being leſs tedious and leſs liable to obſtacles, the Daniſh company has purſued it more warmly than either that to the Ganges or to Coromandel, which require a previous ſtock. They ſend a large ſhip every year, and frequently two. The teas, which were their chief return, were moſtly conſumed in England. The acquiſition that kingdom has made of the Iſle of Man, which was the ſtaple for that contraband trade, by depriving the Danes of that market, muſt neceſſarily leſſen their dealings with China.

THE annual ſales of the company now amount to 6,500,000 livres †. It is not probable that they will increaſe much. We know their expeditions are eaſily made and at a trifling expence. Their ſailors, though not ſo venturous as thoſe of ſome other nations, have prudence and experience. The iron they ſend to India is found in the mines of Norway. The government pays them a very high price for the ſaltpetre it obliges them to bring home. The national manufactures are neither ſo numerous nor ſo much encouraged as to be any hindrance to their ſales. They can eaſily diſpoſe of their goods all over the North, and in ſome part of Germany. They have good laws, and their whole conduct deſerves the higheſt enco-

* 94,500 *l.* † 284,375 *l.*

miums.

miums. Perhaps, there is not any company that can be compared to this in the honeſty and prudence of their tranſactions.

NOTWITHSTANDING all theſe advantages, the Daniſh company will always be in a declining ſtate. The conſumption of their commodities will never be very great, in a region which nature has doomed to poverty, and which induſtry itſelf cannot enrich. The mother country is neither populous nor powerful enough to afford them the means of extending their commerce. Their ſtock is ſmall, and will always continue ſo. Foreigners will not truſt their money in the hands of a body which is under the controul of arbitrary power in an abſolute monarchy. With a ſyſtem of laws that would do honour to the beſt conſtituted republic, they muſt ſuffer all the hardſhips of ſlavery. A deſpotic government, with the beſt intentions, can never have it in its power to do good. The firſt ſteps taken by ſuch a government are to deprive the ſubjects of that free exerciſe of their will which is the true ſource of their activity; and when this ſpring of action is once broken, it can never be reſtored again. It is mutual confidence that connects mankind, unites their intereſts, and promotes trade. Whereas, arbitrary power puts an end to all confidence, becauſe it excludes every idea of ſecurity.

THE project formed in 1728, of transferring the company from Copenhagen to Altena, could not have remedied theſe inconveniences. The ſhips, indeed, would have been more eaſily diſpatched, and would not have been expoſed to the danger

danger of losing their voyage, which sometimes happens from the ice they meet with in the Sound; but we cannot agree with the authors of the scheme, that the vicinity would have induced the Hamburghers to hazard their capitals upon a trade for which they had always expressed an aversion. So that we may venture to affirm, that England and Holland were guilty of a needless act of tyranny, when they opposed this domestic plan of a free and independent power. Their anxiety with regard to Ostend was better grounded.

Establishment of an India company at Ostend.

THAT knowledge of trade and government, and that sound philosophy, which insensibly spread over all Europe, met with invincible obstacles in some monarchies. These improvements could not reach the court of Vienna, which was wholly intent upon projects of war, and aggrandizement by conquests. The English and Dutch, whose attention was engaged in preventing France from increasing her commerce, her settlements, and her navy, excited enemies against her on the continent, and lavished immense sums upon the house of Austria, which were employed against France: but at the peace, the luxury of one crown restored more riches to the other than it had taken from it by the war.

THE power of the house of Austria, which ought to be formidable from the extent of its dominions, is confined by reason of their situation; for most of its provinces are distant from the sea. The soil of the country yields but a small quantity of wine, and few of the productions that are so much valued by other nations. It affords neither oil, silk, nor fine

fine wool, which are in ſo much repute. This ſtate had no pretenſions to opulence, and knew not how to be frugal. With the uſual luxury and pomp of great courts, it gave no encouragement to induſtry and manufactures, which might have ſupplied the means of indulging that expenſive taſte. The contempt in which it has always held the ſciences, prevented its progreſs in every thing. Artiſts will never be eminent in any country where they are not aſſiſted by men of learning. Sciences and arts muſt both languiſh, wherever a freedom of thinking is not allowed. The pride and intolerant ſpirit of the houſe of Auſtria, kept her vaſt domains in a ſtate of poverty, ſuperſtition, and a rude kind of luxury.

Even the low countries, formerly ſo celebrated for their activity and induſtry, retained nothing of their ancient ſplendour. Not a ſingle ſhip was to be ſeen in the harbour of Antwerp; it was no longer the ſtorehouſe of the north, as it had been for two centuries paſt. Bruſſels and Louvain, far from ſupplying other nations with their clothing, bought their own of the Engliſh. That valuable article, the herring fiſhery, had paſſed from Bruges to Holland. Ghent, Courtray, and ſome other towns, found their linen and lace manufactures decreaſe daily. Thoſe provinces, placed between the three moſt enlightened and moſt trading nations in Europe, had not been able, with all their natural advantages, to ſupport ſo powerful a competition. After ſtriving ſome time againſt oppreſſion, againſt impediments multiplied by ignorance, and againſt the privileges, which a rapa-

BOOK V.

cious neighbour extorted from the continual wants of government, they were totally fallen to decay.

PRINCE Eugene, as great in a political as he was in a military capacity, with a mind ſuperior to every prejudice, had been long in ſearch of the means of enriching a power, whoſe boundaries he had ſo greatly enlarged; when a propoſal was made to him of eſtabliſhing an India company at Oſtend. The firſt contrivers of this ſcheme had very extenſive views. They pretended that if this undertaking could be accompliſhed, it would excite a ſpirit of induſtry in all the ſtates under the dominion of the houſe of Auſtria, would ſupply that power with a navy, one part of which would be in the Netherlands and the other at Fiume and Trieſt, would reſcue it from the kind of dependence it was ſtill under for the ſubſidies from England and Holland, render it formidable to the coaſts of Turky, and even to the city of Conſtantinople.

THE able miniſter to whom this was addreſſed, was very ſenſible of the value of ſuch overtures; he would not, however, be too precipitate. To accuſtom his own court and all Europe to this new eſtabliſhment, he ordered that two ſhips ſhould be ſent out to India in 1717, with only his own paſſports. Their voyage was ſo ſucceſsful, that more were ſent out the following years. Every expedition proved fortunate; and in 1722 the court of Vienna thought it was neceſſary to ſecure the property of the adventurers, who were for the moſt part Engliſh and Dutch, by the moſt advantageous charter that ever had been granted.

2 THE

The new company, which had a capital of twenty millions divided into ten thousand shares, appeared with advantage in all the markets of India. They made two settlements, that of Coblom between Madrass and Sadraspatnam, on the coast of Coromandel, and that of Bankibasar on the Ganges. They were even in search of a place where their ships might touch for refreshments, and had turned their views upon Madagascar for that purpose. The company were so fortunate as to be able to repose an entire confidence in their agents, who had shewn a degree of resolution sufficient to surmount every obstacle that jealousy had thrown in their way, and a share of understanding which had extricated them from all the snares that had been laid for them. This confidence was still increased by the richness of their returns and the value of their shares, which brought in fifteen per cent. It is not to be supposed they would have been disappointed, had not their projects been opposed by political interests. To give a clear idea of the reasons of this policy, we must trace the subject from the beginning.

Causes of the destruction of the company Ostend.

When Isabella had sent out ships to facilitate the discovery of America, and which proceeded as far as the Phillippine islands, Europe was sunk in such a state of ignorance, that it was thought proper to prohibit all subjects of Spain who were not natives of Castile from navigating to the East and West Indies. That part of the low countries which had not recovered its liberty, having been ceded in 1598 to the Infanta Isabella, on her marriage with the archduke Albert, the new sove-

 reigns

BOOK V.

reigns were required to enter into a ſolemn engagement not to have any concern in this trade. When theſe provinces were again united to the monarchy in 1638, no alteration was made in this odious ſtipulation. The Flemings, juſtly offended at being abridged of the right, which all people are by nature entitled to, of trading wherever other nations are not legally poſſeſſed of an excluſive privilege, complained loudly of this impoſition. They were ſeconded by their governor the cardinal Infant, who procured the permiſſion to trade to the Eaſt Indies. The act to ratify this grant was not yet iſſued, when Portugal ſhook off the yoke under which it had ſo long been oppreſſed. The fear of increaſing the diſcontent of the Portugueſe, whom the Spaniards wiſhed rather to ſooth, prevented the introduction of a new rival to the Portugueſe in Aſia, and protracted the concluſion of this important affair. It was not yet ſettled, when it was reſolved at Munſter in 1648, that the ſubjects of the king of Spain ſhould never extend their trade in India, beyond what it was at that period. This act ought not to have been leſs binding to the emperor than it was to the court of Madrid, ſince he poſſeſſes the low countries on the ſame terms, and with the ſame reſtrictions they were ſubject to when under the dominion of Spain.

Such were the arguments made uſe of by the Engliſh and the Dutch in order to effect the ſuppreſſion of the new company, whoſe ſucceſs gave them great umbrage. Thoſe two allies, who by their maritime forces could have entirely deſtroyed

Oſtend

Oſtend and its trade, were deſirous of avoiding a diſpute with a power which they themſelves had raiſed, and which they thought they ſtood in need of againſt the houſe of Bourbon. So that though they were determined not to ſuffer the houſe of Auſtria to go to the ſource of their riches, they contented themſelves with making remonſtrances on the violation of the moſt ſolemn engagements. They were ſeconded by France, which was equally intereſted in this matter, and was alſo guarantee of the violated treaty.

THE emperor paid no regard to theſe repreſentations. He was induced to perſiſt in his undertaking by the obſtinacy of his own diſpoſition, by the ambitious proſpects that had been ſuggeſted to him, and by the great privileges and indulgences granted by Spain to the merchants reſiding in his dominions. That crown then entertained the hopes of obtaining the heireſs of the houſe of Auſtria for Don Carlos, and thought no conceſſions too great for ſuch an alliance. The union of thoſe two courts, which had always been conſidered as irreconcileable, alarmed all Europe. Every nation thought itſelf in danger. Numberleſs leagues were formed, and many treaties concluded, to endeavour to diſſolve that connection, which was thought to be more dangerous than it really was. All theſe attempts were ineffectual, till the council of Madrid, having no more treaſures to laviſh upon Germany, were convinced that they were purſuing a viſionary intereſt. Auſtria was not alarmed at the defection of her ally, and ſeemed determined to aſſert her claims, and eſpe-

cially her commercial interests. Whether the maritime powers were intimidated by this steadiness, or whether, as was more probably the case, they only consulted the dictates of sound policy, they determined to guarantee the pragmatic sanction in 1727. The court of Vienna acknowledged this important service, by sacrificing the Ostend company.

THOUGH the public acts take notice only of a suspension for seven years, the proprietors plainly saw that their ruin was determined, and that this stipulation was only inserted from respect to the imperial dignity. They had too high an opinion of the court of London and the states general, to suppose they would have secured the indivisibility of the Austrian dominions for a mere momentary advantage. This persuasion determined them to think no more of Ostend, and to dispose of their stock some other way. They made several successive attempts to form an establishment at Hamburgh, at Triest and in Tuscany, but all their endeavours proved abortive; either from the badness of the situation, the efforts of powerful nations, or the intrigues of politics. Those were the most successful who turned their views towards Sweden.

General sketch of the ancient Government of Sweden.

SWEDEN, whose inhabitants, known by the name of Goths, had contributed to the subversion of the Roman empire, when they had spread destruction with the violence and rapidity of a torrent, retreated into their deserts, and were lost in their former obscurity. Their domestic contests, which were always violent, though continual, prevented them from thinking of foreign wars, or from

from uniting their interefts with thofe of other nations. They had unfortunately the worft of all conftitutions, in which authority is fo divided, that neither of the feveral powers knows exactly what fhare it is poffeffed of. The feveral diftinct claims of the king, of the clergy, of the nobility, of the cities, and of the peafants, occafioned fuch a fcene of confufion, that it muft oftentimes neceffarily have proved the ruin of the kingdom, if their neighbours had not laboured under the fame ftate of barbarifm. Guftavus Vafa put an end to that anarchy, by uniting the greater part of thofe powers in his own perfon; but he plunged the ftate into another calamity, as fatal as the former.

THIS country, from the great extent of its coaft, its excellent harbours, its plenty of timber, its iron and copper mines, and from its abounding with every material requifite to form a navy, feemed as it were defigned for navigation, which however it neglected when it grew weary of piracy. The people of Lubeck traded with the Swedes for the productions of their country, and brought them falt, ftuffs, and all the foreign merchandife they wanted. No fhips were feen in their roads, nor were there any magazines in their towns, which did not belong to that republic.

THE haughty foul of Guftavus could not brook this dependence. He was determined to break the bands that cramped the induftry of his fubjects, but he was too precipitate in his meafures. He fhut his harbours againft the people of Lubeck, before he had built any fhips or had got

any merchants. From this period there was no further intercourſe between his ſubjects and other nations; and this ſudden and total interruption of trade proved fatal to agriculture, that firſt of arts in all countries, and the only one then known in Sweden. The fields lay fallow, when the huſbandman no longer found for the produce of his land that uſual and conſtant demand, which till then had been a ſpur to his induſtry. Some Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, which appeared there at diſtant intervals, had not yet revived the former ſpirit of commerce, when Guſtavus Adolphus aſcended the throne.

He ſignalized the firſt years of his reign by ſeveral uſeful alterations. Agriculture was encouraged; the mines were worked with greater ſkill; the companies were formed to trade to Perſia and the Weſt Indies; the foundations of a new colony were laid on the coaſt of North America; the Swediſh veſſels were ſeen in all the ſeas of Europe, carrying copper, iron, wood, tallow, tar, hides, butter, corn, fiſh and furs; returning with wine, brandy, ſalt, ſpice and all ſorts of ſtuffs.

This proſperity was of ſhort duration. The wars of the great Guſtavus in Germany, ſoon checked the riſing induſtry of the Swedes. His ſucceſſors endeavoured to revive it, but it was again deſtroyed by freſh wars, which laſted till the death of Charles XII. During that long period, the kings aimed only to acquire arbitrary power, and the genius of the nation was wholly turned to arms.

The

THE Swedes did not apply themſelves to uſeful purſuits, till they had loſt all their conqueſts, and till the elevation of Ruſſia left them no hopes of new ones. The ſtates of the kingdom having aboliſhed deſpotiſm, corrected the abuſes of ſo faulty an adminiſtration. The rapid tranſition from a ſtate of ſlavery to that of liberty, did not however occaſion thoſe violent diſturbances, which commonly attend ſuch revolutions. All the changes were made upon mature deliberation. The firſt attention was paid to the moſt neceſſary profeſſions, which till then had been unnoticed, or deſpiſed. The arts of convenience, or elegance, were ſoon introduced. Several uſeful treatiſes, not unworthy of the moſt enlightened nations, were publiſhed on the moſt abſtruſe ſciences. The young nobility travelled into every part of Europe where they might gain any kind of knowledge. Thoſe citizens who had been for a long time abſent from their country while it remained in a ſtate of ruin and devaſtation, returned and brought back with them the various talents they had acquired. Order, political œconomy, and the ſeveral branches of government, became ſubjects of inquiry. Whatever concerned the republic, was maturely diſcuſſed in the general aſſemblies, and freely approved or cenſured in the public writings. Improvements of every kind were adopted, from whatever part of the globe they came. Foreigners who introduced any new diſcoveries, or any branch of uſeful knowledge, met with encouragement; and it was at this favourable

BOOK V.

vourable juncture that the agents of the Oſtend company made their appearance.

The Swedes cultivate the India trade. Baſis on which it is founded.

A RICH merchant of Stockholm, named Henry Koning, approved of their ſchemes, and procured the approbation of the diet in 1731. An India company was eſtabliſhed with an excluſive privilege of trading beyond the cape of Good Hope. The charter was only for fifteen years. It was thought that this would be the beſt expedient either to afford an early opportunity of rectifying any imperfections incident to new undertakings, or to relieve the anxiety of many citizens, who were diſſatisfied with an undertaking which they thought repugnant to the nature of the climate and the conſtitution. In order, as much as poſſible, to unite the advantages of a free trade with thoſe of a privileged aſſociation, it was agreed that the ſtock ſhould not be fixed, and that each proprietor ſhould be at liberty to withdraw his own at the end of every voyage. As moſt of the adventurers were foreigners, it was thought equitable to ſecure a profit to the nation, by obliging them to pay the government 2250 livres *, upon the cargo of every ſhip.

NOTWITHSTANDING this duty, which almoſt confined their trade to China, the proprietors divided much greater profits than any other company ever did. This ſucceſs determined the ſtates, when they renewed the charter in 1746, to demand 75,000 livres † per ſhip, in lieu of the old duty. Theſe terms were punctually complied with

* 98l. 8s. 9d. † 3,281l. 5s.

till

till 1753: then the directors, who were sensible of the advantages of their situation, endeavoured to render it permanent by fixing on a firmer footing the transient association that had intrusted them with the management of their affairs; and their scheme was approved in a general assembly of the nation. It was not to be expected that the proprietors would so readily assent to a system that abridged them of their liberty, and was the more to be dreaded, as it had proved fatal to other companies. They were however allured by the prospect of a more fixt dividend, instead of one which had for some years varied to an incredible degree; a circumstance which was either contrived to make the project succeed, or was a natural consequence of the fluctuation of trade. They were finally determined by the indulgence the government shewed them, in taking no more than a duty of twenty per cent. upon tea and all other India goods which should be consumed within the kingdom, instead of the 75,000* livres which had been paid for six years upon every ship. This new regulation lasted till 1766, which was the time of the expiration of the charter granted twenty years before.

They had not deferred to that time the taking of proper measures for the renewal of the company. As early as the 7th of July 1762, a new charter was granted for twenty years longer. The conditions were more advantageous to the state, than was expected by those who had not attended to the profits of that trade. The company lent the

* 32,81l. 5s.

govern-

BOOK V.

government 1,500,000 livres * without intereſt, and 3,000,000 † at ſix per cent. The proprietors who advanced this money, were to be repaid gradually out of the drawback of 112,500 livres ‡, which they engaged to pay for every ſhip they ſhould ſend out. A duty of one fourth of the produce was laid on all ſuch of their commodities as ſhould be exported out of the kingdom; and ſuch as were conſumed at home were to pay the old duties, or ſuch new ones as government ſhould think proper to lay on them. This is the regulation that ſubſiſts ever ſince 1766.

The company have fixed the center of their buſineſs at Gottenburgh, which is by far the moſt convenient port for their purpoſe. At firſt their ſtock varied from one voyage to another. It is generally believed, that in 1753 it was fixed at nine millions ‖, though but ſix § were laid down. Thoſe who are beſt informed, are of opinion that the laſt regulation has really brought in ten millions **; but we know nothing on this important point, except from conjecture, for it never was laid before the public. As the Swedes had but little ſhare in this ſtock, it was judged neceſſary to conceal this circumſtance; and it was therefore enacted, that any director who ſhould divulge the names of the proprietors, or the ſums they had ſubſcribed, ſhould be ſuſpended, or even depoſed, and ſhould forfeit for ever all the ſtock of which he was poſſeſſed. This myſterious conduct is ſtill obſerved. Indeed the accounts of the company

* 65,625l. † 131,250l. ‡ 4,921l. 17s. 6d. ‖ 393,750l.
§ 262,5000l. ** 437,500l.

are

are regularly laid before twelve of the chief proprietors, who are chofen once in four years at a general meeting; but mercantile people will never confider this as a fufficient fecurity; and will always think it ftrange, that a free ftate fhould have opened fuch a door for corruption. Secrefy, in politics, is like lying; it may preferve a ftate for a while, but finally ruins it. Both are only ferviceable to bad men.

THOUGH the company met with fome misfortunes, the dividend kept up to thirty-two per cent. upon an average. This whole profit was made upon fales that did not exceed fix millions of livres * yearly. Eleven-twelfths of thofe goods have been exported, and what little the Swedes have confumed, they have paid for with their own commodities. The fmall value of the ftock, and the few refources they had, would not admit of greater confumption, as will appear if we confider the following particulars.

Prefent ftate of Swedenr

THE extent of Sweden is 6900 leagues fquare, allowing, as is ufual in that country, but ten and a half to a degree. A great part of it is covered with immenfe lakes. The foil, which is moft commonly greafy clay, is harder to till than fandy ground, but it bears more. The prodigious fnows that cover it, preferve and cherifh the plants. Unfortunately the winters are fo long, and the days fo fhort, that there is but little time for the labours of the field. Befides, as the men are taller and ftouter than in other countries, they require more fubftantial food, and in larger quantities.

* 262,500l.

FROM

BOOK V.

From these reasons we should be apt to suspect that the population never was very great in Sweden, though it has been called the *manufactory of human kind*. Probably the numerous bands that came from thence, and which under the so much dreaded name of Goths and Vandals, ravaged and subdued so many regions of Europe, were only swarms of Scythians and Sarmatians, who came thither in a constant succession by the north of Asia. Yet it would be a mistake to suppose that this vast country was always as thinly peopled as it is now. Some historical proofs which were laid before the states at their last meeting, convinced them that three hundred years ago, their country had more inhabitants than it has at present, though at that time they professed the catholic religion, which enjoins the monastic life and the celibacy of the clergy. It appears from a very accurate account taken in 1760, by order of the government, that Sweden, exclusive of her German dominions which are inconsiderable, has actually but 2,383,113 subjects; and that in this population, there are 1,127,938 men, and 1,255,175 women. By taking the mean term, this makes 345 inhabitants to a league square. The two extremes are Gothia which has 1248, and Lapland which has but two inhabitants to a league.

The numbers would be greater in all the provinces, if they were not continually deserted by the natives, who frequently never return. There are men in all nations, who, either out of curiosity, or from a natural restlessness, and without any determinate object, are fond of going from

from one country to another; but this is only the malady of a few individuals, and cannot be confidered as the general caufe of a conftant emigration. There is a natural propenfity in all men to love their own country, which is rather to be accounted for from moral, than from natural principles. An inherent fondnefs for fociety, the ties of blood and of friendfhip, an acquaintance with the climate and language, that partiality we are fo apt to contract for the place, the manners and the way of life we are accuftomed to; all thefe are, to a rational being, fo many attachments to the land in which he was born and educated. They muft be powerful motives that can determine him to break all thefe ties at once, and to prefer another country, where all will appear extraordinary and new to him. In Sweden, where the whole power refides in the ftates compofed of the feveral orders of the kingdom, even that of peafants, every one fhould be the more attached to his country; yet emigrations are very frequent, and there muft be fome caufe for them.

The clafs of citizens moft attached to the country, is that of the hufbandmen. Agriculture was tolerably flourifhing, till Guftavus Vafa prohibited the exportation of corn. Ever fince that fatal edict, it has always degenerated, and the endeavours ufed of late years to reftore it, have not altogether had the defired effect. Government buys every year part of the corn that is wanted for home confumption; and this fcarcity may laft long, as it is very difficult to breed

breed large quantities of cattle. They muſt be foddered for nine months in the year, and men are wanting to cut up and to houſe that quantity of fodder, which the long winters require.

THE mines are not liable to the like inconveniencies. They were long the chief ſupport of the kingdom, but are ſince grown dependent on the Engliſh and Dutch, who have lent large ſums to carry on the works. A better management has gradually freed them from this bondage. The ſilver mines annually bring in 4500 marks to the ſtate; the copper mines yield 8000 ingots; of which 5500 are exported; the iron mines yield 400,000 ingots, of which they export about 300,000. Theſe laſt were eaſily increaſed, eſpecially in the northern provinces, which abound with wood and water for the works, and where the long and ſevere winters are favourable to the tranſport. The ſtates held in 1765, forbad the opening of any more, though no reaſon of political œconomy can be aſſigned for ſuch a prohibition. It is probable, that it took its riſe from the private and perſonal intereſt of ſome leading men in the diet. The manufactures have not been more encouraged than the mines.

TILL the happy revolution which reſtored the liberty of Sweden, the nation in general were clothed in foreign ſtuffs. At that memorable period, they were ſenſible how impoſſible it was to prevent this evil with their own wool, which was extremely coarſe; ewes and rams were therefore ſent for from Spain and England, and by the

precautions

precautions that have been taken, they have not much degenerated. As the flocks multiplied, the manufactures increased to that degree, that in 1763 they employed 45,000 hands. This progress has displeased some patriots, who thought it prejudicial to agriculture. In vain were they told, that the manufactures promoted the consumption of the productions of the land; that they multiplied cattle, and that the cattle fertilized the ground; that there were in the kingdom but eight or ten towns, at most, that deserved to be called so, and that their population, relative to that of the country, was but as one to twelve, which was not the case in any other country. These representations had no effect. The diet of 1765, from party spirit or ignorance, adopted the views of those who were inclined to encourage only the works of husbandry. To accomplish this, they have shackled industry with all the fetters they could devise. The consequence has been, that the artificers sought for employment in other places, especially in Russia, and that Sweden has at present no manufactures.

THEIR fisheries have not met with the same fate. The only one that deserves to be considered in a political view, is the herring fishery. It only began in 1740. Before that time, the herrings did not frequent the coasts of Sweden. They then came in shoals to the coast of Gottenburgh, and have never forsaken it since. Two hundred thousand barrels are annually exported,

BOOK V.

which at the rate of 20 livres * per barrel, amount to 4,000,000 of livres †. About 8000 barrels are ſent over to the Engliſh iſlands in America. It is very ſurpriſing that the French, who have more ſlaves, and fewer means of providing for them, ſhould never have encouraged the importation of ſo deſirable an article.

THE Swediſh nation was not yet poſſeſſed of the herring fiſhery, when they prohibited the importation of all foreign commodities, and the conveying their own from one harbour of the kingdom to another in foreign bottoms. That famous edict reſtored navigation, which had long ſince been deſtroyed by the calamities of war. Their flag, which was unknown every where, was now to be ſeen on all ſeas. Their ſeamen ſoon acquired ſkill and experience. Some able politicians were even of opinion that their progreſs was growing too conſiderable for a depopulated country. They thought it would be more adviſeable to keep to the exportation of their own produce, and the importation of ſuch foreign commodities as they wanted, and have nothing to do with mere freight. This ſyſtem was warmly oppoſed. Some eminent ſtateſmen were of opinion that, far from cramping this branch of induſtry, it ought to be encouraged, by aboliſhing every regulation that might tend to obſtruct it. The excluſive right of paſſing the Sound was formerly appropriated to a few towns, diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Staple*. All

* 17s. 6d. † 175,000l.

the

the parts ſituated to the north of Stockholm or Abo, were obliged to ſend their commodities to one of theſe ſtaples, and there to take in thoſe of the Baltic, which they could have procured cheaper at firſt hand. Thoſe odious diſtinctions contrived in barbarous times, and tending to favour the monopoly of merchants, ſtill ſubſiſt to this day. The wiſeſt ſpeculators in political matters wiſhed to ſee them aboliſhed; that a more general competition might produce greater induſtry. But whatever may be the wiſhes of the nation with regard to trade, no perſon is deſirous of having the army augmented.

Before the reign of Guſtavus Vaſa, every Swede was a ſoldier. Upon any emergency of the ſtate, the huſbandman left his plough, and took up his bow. The whole nation was inured to war by their inceſſant civil commotions. Government had but five hundred men in pay, who were always to hold themſelves in readineſs to march. In 1542, this ſmall corps was increaſed to ſix thouſand. The peaſants, upon whom theſe troops were quartered, found the burden intolerable, and it was neceſſary to free them of it. For this purpoſe, the uncultivated lands were incorporated with thoſe of the crown, and when they were cleared, they were allotted to the defenders of their country. This excellent inſtitution has been continued ever ſince. Military men are not ſhut up in garriſons, to lead a life of idleneſs, as they are in other countries. From the general to the common ſoldier, every one has a houſe which he lives in, and a ſpot of ground

of his own which he improves. The extent and value of the land is proportionable to his rank in the army. This poſſeſſion, which they hold from the crown, is called *Boſtell*, and is never granted but in the domains belonging to government. The army now conſiſts of eight regiments of horſe, three regiments of dragoons, two regiments of huſſars, and twenty-one regiments of national infantry that are paid in the above manner, and ten regiments of foreign troops, who are paid in money, and diſpoſed of in the provinces, and in the fortreſſes beyond the ſeas: all theſe forces together amount to 50,000 men. This army is increaſed to 84,000 men, by the addition of 34,000 ſoldiers, who are kept in reſerve, and have likewiſe their *Boſtells*, and by their inſtitution are deſtined to ſupply the place of thoſe who die among the national infantry, are loſt, or taken priſoners. Twenty ſhips of the line, with a proportionable number of frigates and a few galleys, complete the forces of the republic.

To ſupport theſe forces, the ſtate has only a revenue of eighteen millions of livres *, which ariſes from a land tax, the returns of the cuſtoms, duties upon copper, iron, and ſtamped paper, a poll-tax, and a free gift. This is a very ſmall ſum for the expences of war, and the neceſſities of government; and yet it muſt alſo anſwer for the payment of debts.

THESE debts amounted to 7,500,000 livres †, when Charles XI. came to the crown. That

* 787,500l. † 328,125l.

prince,

prince, who was an œconomiſt in a manner becoming a ſovereign, paid them off. He did more than this, for he redeemed ſeveral of the domains conquered in Germany, which had been alienated to powerful neighbours. He likewiſe redeemed the crown jewels, upon which conſiderable ſums had been borrowed in Holland. He fortified the frontier towns, ſuccoured his allies, and often fitted out ſquadrons to maintain his ſuperiority on the Baltic. The events ſubſequent to his death once more plunged the nation into its former confuſion, which has continued increaſing ever ſince, ſo that the government was in debt 82,500,000 livres *, for which they paid four and a half per cent. intereſt. Of this capital, eight millions † are the property of foreigners, five millions ‡ belong to a ſinking fund eſtabliſhed to pay off the debts contracted by Charles XII. a million and a half § to ſome communities, twelve millions and a half || to private perſons in Sweden, and fifty-five millions ** to the bank. The beſt calculators pretend that this bank, which belongs ſolely to the ſtate, and is only to be at their diſpoſal by the nation in a general aſſembly, has got as much by lending its paper currency to private perſons, upon moveable and immoveable effects, as the government owes it. In that caſe, the republic in fact owes but one third of the debt, for which it pays intereſt, for the ſake of ſupporting public credit.

* 3,609,375l. † 350,000l. ‡ 218,750l.
§ 65,625l. || 546,875l. ** 2,406,250l.

BOOK V.

This credit is the more neceſſary, as there does not, ſince the laſt German war, remain two millions * of ſpecie in circulation all over the kingdom. Paper currency is employed on all occaſions. As thoſe who are intruſted with the management of the paper credit, are ſworn to keep every thing relative to it a profound ſecret, the quantity cannot be exactly aſcertained ; but from the informations of the moſt accurate obſervers, we may venture to affirm that the ſum total of bank notes amounts to no leſs than ſeventy-ſeven millions †.

Poverty was not, however, the greateſt evil under which Sweden laboured ; ſhe was threatened with calamities of a more dangerous nature. Private intereſt, which had taken place of public ſpirit, filled the court, the ſenate, and all orders of the republic with diſtruſt. All bodies of men were bent upon each other's deſtrúction with unparalleled inveteracy. When the means were wanting at home, they were ſought for from abroad, and a man was not aſhamed to conſpire in ſome meaſure with foreigners againſt his own country.

The unhappy ſituation of a ſtate, apparently free, kept up that ſlaviſh diſpoſition, which degrades moſt of the European nations ; they gloried in their chains, when they beheld the ſufferings of a people who had ſhaken off their's. No one would be convinced that the Swedes had gone from one extreme to another ; that

* 87,500l. † 3,368,750l.

to

to avoid the miſchiefs of arbitrary power, they had fallen into the confuſions of anarchy. The laws had not provided means to reconcile the private rights of individuals with thoſe of ſociety, and the prerogatives it ought to enjoy for the common ſafety of its members.

In that fatal criſis, it was expedient for the Swedes to intruſt the phantom of a king, of their own creation, with a power ſufficient to inquire into the abuſes of the ſtate, and find out proper remedies for it. This is the greateſt act of ſovereignty a people can exerciſe; and it is not loſing their liberty to commit it to the cuſtody of a guardian in whom they can confide, while they watch over the uſe he makes of the power delegated to him.

Such a reſolution would have raiſed the Swedes to the greateſt glory and happineſs, and have excited a general opinion of their underſtanding and wiſdom; whereas by declining ſo neceſſary a meaſure, they have compelled the ſovereign to ſeize upon the ſupreme authority. He now reigns upon his own terms, and his ſubjects have no other right left, but ſuch as his moderation would not ſuffer him to deprive them of.

This event is too recent to allow us to entertain our readers with an account of it; poſterity muſt be left to judge of it. Let us now inquire into the connections, formed in India by the King of Pruſſia.

BOOK V.

The king of Pruſſia forms an Eaſt India company at Embden. Character of that Prince. Fate of his eſtabliſhment.

THIS prince, in his younger years, wiſely preferred the advantage of treaſuring up knowledge, to the uſual pleaſures of his age, and his luxurious idleneſs of courts. An intercourſe with the greateſt men of his time joined to the ſpirit of obſervation, inſenſibly ripened his genius, which was naturally active and eager for improvement. Neither flattery nor oppoſition could ever divert him from the deep reflections he was engaged in. He formed the plan of his future conduct and reign in the early part of his life. It was foretold on his acceſſion to the crown, that his miniſters would be no more than his ſecretaries; the managers of his finances no more than his clerks; and his generals no more than his aids de camp. Some fortunate circumſtances afforded him an opportunity of diſplaying to the whole world, the talents he had acquired in retirement. With a quickneſs peculiar to himſelf, Frederic inſtantly diſcovering the plan it was his intereſt to purſue, attacked a power, by which his anceſtors had been held in ſlavery. He obtained the victory in five engagements againſt that power, deprived it of its beſt provinces, and concluded a peace with the ſame wiſdom that he had begun the war.

THOUGH his wars were at an end, yet he did not remain inactive. He aſpired to gain the admiration of thoſe very people, whom he had ſtruck with terror. He collected all the arts about him, to give an additional luſtre to his name. He reformed the abuſes in the courts of

of judicature, and dictated himself the wisest laws. A plain and invariable order was established in every part of government. As he was convinced that the authority of a sovereign is a common benefit to all his subjects, a protection which all should equally partake of, he gave to every man the liberty of approaching his person and of writing to him. Every instant of his life was devoted to the welfare of his people; his very amusements were made useful to them. His writings on history, morality, and politics abounded with practical truths. Even his poetry was full of profound and instructive ideas. He was considering of the means of enriching his dominions, when some fortunate event put him in possession of East Friesland in the year 1744.

EMBDEN, the capital of this little province, was reckoned, two centuries ago, one of the best ports in Europe. The English, compelled to abandon Antwerp, had made it the center of their connections with the continent. The Dutch had long attempted, though in vain, to appropriate it to themselves, till it so strongly excited their jealousy, that they even endeavoured to fill up the port. It was in every respect fit to become the staple of a great trade. The distance of this little country from the bulk of the Prussian forces, might be attended with some inconveniences, but Frederic expected that the terror of his name would keep the maritime powers in awe. In this persuasion, he established an East India company at Embden in 1750.

THE

The capital for this new ſociety was 3,900,000 livres*, chiefly ſubſcribed by the Engliſh and Dutch, notwithſtanding the ſevere prohibitions of their governments. They were allured by the unlimited freedom they were to enjoy, on paying three per cent. to the ſovereign upon every ſale they ſhould make. The event did not anſwer their expectation; ſix ſhips ſent ſucceſſively to China, brought to the owners no more than their bare capital, and a profit of ten per cent. in ſeven years. Another company, formed ſoon after in the ſame place for Bengal, was ſtill more unſucceſsful. They never attempted more than two expeditions, and the only return they had, was a law ſuit, which probably will never be determined. At the breaking out of the laſt war, both theſe companies were aboliſhed.

This has been the only check the king of Pruſſia's greatneſs has ever received. We know how difficult it is to judge of the merit of contemporaries; becauſe they are not at a ſufficient diſtance. Princes are of all men thoſe we can leaſt hope to be acquainted with. Fame ſeldom ſpeaks of them without prejudice. We commonly judge of them upon the reports of ſervile flattery, or unjuſt envy. The clamours of the various intereſts and opinions that are in perpetual agitation around them, confound or ſuſpend the judgment of the wiſeſt men.

Yet if we might be allowed to pronounce from a multitude of facts connected together, we ſhould

* 170,625l.

ſay

ſay of Frederic, that he was able to extricate himſelf from the ſchemes of all Europe combined againſt him; that to the greatneſs and boldneſs of his enterprizes, he joined the moſt impenetrable ſecreſy in the execution of them; that he introduced a total change in the art of war, which before his time, was thought to have attained its higheſt degree of perfection; that he ſhewed a fortitude ſcarcely to be paralleled in hiſtory; that he turned his very miſtakes to better advantage than others do their ſucceſs; that all mankind were either loſt in ſilent admiration of his actions, or could not ſufficiently extol them; and that he reflected as much luſtre upon his nation, as other nations reflect upon their ſovereign.

THIS prince always appears formidable. The opinion he has given of his abilities; the indelible remembrance of his actions; an annual revenue of ſeventy millions *; a treaſure of more than two hundred †; an army of a hundred and fourſcore thouſand men: all this muſt ſecure his tranquillity. Unfortunately it is not ſo beneficial to his ſubjects as it was formerly. He ſtill leaves the management of the coin to the Jews, a circumſtance which has occaſioned the greateſt confuſion. He has done nothing for the relief of the richeſt merchants in his dominions, who have been ruined by his ſchemes. He has taken the moſt conſiderable manufactures into his own hands. His dominions are full of monopolies, which are

* 3,062,500l. † 8,750,000l.

the

the bane of all induſtry. His people, who idolized him, have been given up to a ſet of foreign plunderers. This conduct has occaſioned ſuch diſtruſt both at home and abroad, that we may venture to affirm, that all endeavours to reſtore the Embden company will prove ineffectual.

O FREDERIC! thou didſt receive from Nature a bold and lively imagination, an unbounded deſire of knowledge, a propenſity to an active life, and a ſtrength of conſtitution to ſupport the fatigues of it. Thine earlier years were devoted to the ſtudy of government, policy, and legiſlation. At the view of thy firſt exploits, mankind groaning under general oppreſſion and ſlavery, ſeemed to find ſome comfort in their misfortunes, from the expectation that thou wouldſt be their avenger. They foretold thy ſucceſſes, and implored a previous bleſſing upon them; and Europe diſtinguiſhed thee by the title of king and philoſopher.

WHEN thou didſt firſt appear in the field, all nations were aſtoniſhed at the rapidity of thy marches, at the ſkill diſplayed in thy encampments, and at the excellent diſpoſition thou didſt make of thine army in battle. The ſtrict diſcipline in which thy troops were trained, excited univerſal admiration, and inſured them victory: all extolled that mechanical ſubordination which of ſeveral armies makes but one body, whoſe motions being all governed by one ſingle impulſe, exert their power at once towards the ſame object. Philoſophers themſelves, prejudiced by the hopes thou hadſt raiſed in them, and proud

proud to fee a friend of the arts and of mankind invefted with regal dignity, rejoiced perhaps at thy victories though obtained at the expence of fo much blood; and they confidered thee as a model for military kings.

But there is ftill a more glorious title; that of a patriot king. This is a title never given to thofe princes, who making no diftinction between truth and error, juftice and partiality, good and evil, confider the principles of morality merely as metaphyfical fpeculations, and imagine that human reafon is fwayed entirely by intereft. If the love of glory were extinct in thy breaft; if the powers of thy foul, exhaufted by thy great exploits, had loft their force and energy; if the childifh paffions of old age had reduced thee to a level with the generality of kings; what would then become of thy glory? What would become of thofe praifes which fame, and the immortal teftimony of literature and the arts have beftowed upon thee? But let us hope that thy reign and thy life will not appear problematical in hiftory. Let thine heart again be opened to thofe noble and virtuous fentiments that were the delight of thy younger days. Let the latter years of thy life be employed in promoting the felicity of thy people. Let fucceeding generations experience the effects of that happinefs thou fhalt beftow upon the prefent. The power of Pruffia is the work of thy genius; it has been formed and it muft be fupported by thee. It muft be adapted to the ftate whofe glory thou haft raifed.

Let

Let thoſe numberleſs treaſures that are buried in thy coffers, circulate again, and give new life to the ſtate: let thy private poſſeſſions, which a ſudden change of fortune may deprive thee of, be hereafter only ſupported upon the baſis of the national riches, which never can fail: let thy ſubjects bending under the intolerable yoke of a ſevere and arbitrary government, find in thee the affections of a parent, inſtead of the vexations of an oppreſſor: let exorbitant taxes upon individuals and upon articles of conſumption no longer obſtruct the advancement of agriculture and induſtry: let the inhabitants of the country recovered from a ſtate of ſlavery, and thoſe of the towns becoming perfectly free, paſs their lives agreeably to their inclinations and reſpective powers. Thus ſhalt thou give ſtability to the empire which thy brilliant talents have extended, and rendered illuſtrious; thus ſhall thy name be inſerted in the reſpectable but ſmall liſt of patriot kings.

Let thy virtues carry thee ſtill further, and induce thee to procure the bleſſing of tranquillity to the earth. Let the influence of thy mediation, and the power of thine arms, compel all turbulent and reſtleſs nations to accept of peace. The univerſe is the country of a great man; it is the ſtage ſuited to the diſplay of thy abilities: mayſt thou become the benefactor of all mankind!——

No greatneſs, no felicity can exiſt in a monarchy without the influence of the ſovereign; but it does not ſolely depend upon the monarch to

to do every thing that is calculated to procure the happineſs of his people. He often meets with powerful obſtacles in the prejudices, the character, and the diſpoſitions of his ſubjects. Theſe indeed may undoubtedly be corrected; but till this change has been produced in Spain, we ſhall conſider them as the principal cauſe of the little degree of ſucceſs that has attended the projects ſo often formed, of rendering the trade to the Philippine iſlands proſperous.

Settlement of the Spaniards in the Philippine iſlands.

The Philippines, formerly known by the name of the Manillas, form an immenſe Archipelago to the eaſt of Aſia. The mountains in theſe iſlands are peopled with ſavages, who ſeem to be the oldeſt inhabitants of the country. There appears to be ſome analogy between their language and that of Malabar, whence it has been ſuſpected that they might poſſibly have come from that pleaſant region of India. Their life is entirely the ſame as that of beaſts, they have no ſettled habitation, and feed upon the fruits and roots they find in the woods; and when they have exhauſted one ſpot, they go and feed upon another. All endeavours to reduce them to ſubjection have proved ineffectual, becauſe nothing is more difficult than to ſubdue a wandering nation.

The plains from which they have been driven, have been ſucceſſively inhabited by colonies from Siam, Sumatra, Borneo, Macaſſar, Malacca, the Moluccas and Arabia. The manners, religion, and

and government of theſe ſtrangers, evidently diſtinguiſh their ſeveral origins.

MAGELLAN was the firſt European who diſcovered theſe iſlands. Upon ſome diſcontent, he left Portugal his native country, and entered into the ſervice of the emperor Charles V. and paſſing the ſtreights that now bear his name, he arrived at the Manillas in 1521. He unfortunately died there, but probably this would not have prevented the good conſequences of his voyage, had they not been interrupted by the following occurrences.

IN the fifteenth century, whilſt the Portugueſe were beginning to make voyages to the Eaſt Indies, and endeavouring to monopolize the trade of ſpices and of manufactures, which had been in conſtant requeſt among civilized nations; the Spaniards, by the diſcovery of America, were ſecuring greater treaſures than imagination could form any conception of. Though both nations were purſuing their reſpective views of aggrandizement in far diſtant regions, they might probably interfere with each other; and their mutual antipathy would have made ſuch an event dangerous. To prevent this, Pope Alexander VI. fixed their reſpective claims in 1493, in conſequence of that univerſal and ridiculous power which the pontiffs had aſſumed for ſeveral centuries, and which the idolatrous ignorance of two nations equally ſuperſtitious ſtill kept up, that they might plead the excuſe of religion for their avarice. He gave to Spain all the countries that ſhould be diſcovered to the weſt of

of a meridian taken a hundred leagues from the Azores, and to Portugal whatever land they might conquer to the eaſt of that meridian. In proceſs of time, the two powers agreed to remove the line of ſeparation two hundred and fifty leagues further to the weſt, as a means of ſecuring their tranquillity. The court of Rome was not ſufficiently acquainted with the theory of the earth, to know, that as the Spaniards advanced to the weſt, and the Portugueſe to the eaſt, they muſt meet at laſt. Magellan's expedition evinced this truth.

THE Portugueſe, who though ſeamen themſelves had no idea that it was poſſible to ſail to India any other way than by the Cape of Good Hope, were greatly ſurprized to ſee the Spaniards come thither by the South Sea. They were apprehenſive for the Moluccas, upon which their rivals pretended to have a claim, as likewiſe upon the Manillas. The court of Liſbon was determined to run any riſque rather than part with the ſpice trade. However, before they ventured to quarrel with the only power whoſe naval ſtrength was then formidable, they thought it adviſeable to try the method of negociation. They ſucceeded better than they expected. Charles V. who was frequently in want of money to carry on his expeditions, conſented, for the ſum of 3,420,000 livres *, to ſuſpend the armaments againſt the Moluccas, till the reſpective claims could be adjuſted. He

* 149,625l.

even engaged, in caſe the deciſion was favourable, not to make any advantage of it till he had paid the money he had received. After this accommodation, the Spaniſh monarch was ſo intent upon his aggrandizement in Europe and America, that he totally neglected the Eaſt Indies.

In 1564, Philip II. reſumed the project of conquering the Manillas. The execution was committed to Michael Lopez de l'Egaſpe. He formed a permanent eſtabliſhment at Luçonia, the chief of thoſe iſlands, and laid the foundation of ſome ſettlements in the adjacent parts, particularly in Sibu, where Magellan had landed. His ſucceſſors would probably have made an entire conqueſt of this archipelago, if they had been better ſupported, or even if they had not been under a neceſſity of employing the few troops they had, in defending the Portugueſe in the Moluccas. The patience of the Dutch triumphed over ſuch weak and tardy efforts: which only ſerved to prevent for a time thoſe rich poſſeſſions from falling into their hands; and which left the power that Spain had over the Manillas, (then called Philippines) in a very languid ſtate, as it has continued ever ſince.

Preſent ſtate of the Philippine iſlands.

In theſe iſlands, the number of Spaniards does not exceed three thouſand: there are three times as many Meſtees. They are all equally employed to keep in ſubjection upwards of one million three hundred and ſixty thouſand Indians, who were ſubdued at the time the computation was made in 1752. Moſt of them are Chriſtians,

tians, and all pay a tax of two livres thirteen ſous*. They are diſperſed in nine iſlands, and diſtributed into twenty departments, twelve of which are in the iſland of Luçonia. The capital, which was always called Manilla, is ſituated at the mouth of a large river, at the bottom of a bay which is thirty leagues in circumference. L'Egaſpe thought this a fit place to be the center of the power he wanted to eſtabliſh, and accordingly made it the ſeat of government and of trade. Gomez Perez de las Marignas incloſed it with walls, and built fort St. James in 1590. As this harbour will admit none but ſmall ſhips, it was afterwards found expedient to fortify Cavite, which is diſtant but three leagues, and is now the harbour of Manilla. It is ſemicircular, and the ſhips are on all ſides ſheltered from the ſouth winds, but expoſed to thoſe from the north, unleſs they anchor very cloſe to the ſhore. Three or four hundred Indians were formerly employed in the docks, which have been ſo much increaſed within theſe few years, that men of war are now built there for Europe.

The ſettlement is ſubject to a governor, whoſe office continues eight years, but who is ſubordinate to the viceroy of Mexico. He commands the army, diſpoſes of all civil and military employments, and may grant lands to the ſoldiers, and even erect them into fiefs. This power, though ſomewhat balanced by the influence which

* 2s. 3d. ¾.

the clergy and the inquiſition aſſume in all the Spaniſh ſettlements abroad, has been found ſo dangerous, that many expedients have been deviſed to check its exorbitancy. The moſt effectual of theſe expedients, is that by which it is decreed, that the conduct of a governor ſhall be arraigned even after his death, and that when a governor is recalled, he ſhall not quit the place till his adminiſtration has been inquired into. Every individual is at liberty to complain, and if he has ſuffered any wrong, he is to be indemnified at the coſt of the delinquent, who is likewiſe condemned to pay a fine to the ſovereign, for having brought an odium upon him. At the time this wiſe inſtitution was made, it was obſerved with ſuch rigour, that when accuſations were numerous and weighty againſt the governor, he was impriſoned. Several died in confinement, and others were taken out only with a deſign to inflict ſevere puniſhments upon them. But corruption has ſince inſinuated itſelf, and the perſon who ſucceeds, is commonly influenced either by conſiderable bribes, or becauſe he intends to practiſe the ſame extortions himſelf, to palliate thoſe of his predeceſſor.

THIS colluſion has brought on a ſettled ſyſtem of oppreſſion. Arbitrary taxes have been levied; the public revenue has been leſſened in paſſing through the hands that were appointed to collect it; extravagant duties have made trade degenerate into ſmuggling; the farmer has been compelled to lay up his crops in the magazines of the government, and ſome governors have carried

ried their tyranny to ſuch atrocious lengths, as to determine the quantity of corn that the fields were to produce, and to oblige the farmers to bring it in; and not only to wait for the payment as long a time as their oppreſſive maſters ſhould think proper, but alſo to receive it in whatever manner it could be given to them. This tyranny has determined vaſt numbers of Indians to forſake the Philippines, or to take refuge in the inacceſſible parts of thoſe iſlands. Several millions are ſaid to have periſhed through ill uſage, and it is impoſſible to conjecture the number of thoſe whoſe very exiſtence has been prevented by the neglect of cultivation, and conſequently the want of food. The few who have eſcaped all theſe calamities have only found a refuge by living in a ſtate of obſcurity and wretchedneſs. For theſe two centuries paſt ſome governors have attempted to put an end to theſe enormities, but their endeavours have proved ineffectual, becauſe the abuſes were too inveterate to yield to a tranſient and ſubordinate authority. Nothing leſs than the ſupreme power of the court of Madrid could reſtrain the ſpirit of univerſal rapaciouſneſs; but this power has never exerted itſelf for ſuch a purpoſe. This ſhameful neglect is the true cauſe why the Philippine iſlands have never been civilized, and have neither policy nor trade. Their name would ſcarcely be known, were it not for their connections with Mexico.

Those connections, which have ſubſiſted ever ſince the firſt ſettlement of the Spaniards in the

East and West Indies, consist only in conveying the produce and merchandise of Asia to America by the South Sea. None of the articles that compose these rich cargoes, are the produce either of the ground or of the manufactures of those islands. Their cinnamon is brought from Batavia. The Chinese bring them silks, and the English or the French supply them with white linens, and printed callicoes from Bengal and Coromandel. All the eastern nations may freely trade there, but the Europeans must conceal their flag. They would not be admitted without this precaution, which, however, is but a mere ceremony. From whatever port the goods have been brought, they must come in before the departure of the galleons. If they should arrive later, they could not be disposed of, or must be sold at a loss to merchants who stow them in warehouses till the next voyage. The payments are made in cochineal and Mexican piastres, and partly in cowries, which are not current in Africa; but will pass every where on the banks of the Ganges.

The people of this island seldom transact business immediately with the Spaniards. Most of them are so disgusted with the fatigues of trade, that they place all their money in the hands of the Chinese, who enrich themselves at their cost. If these agents, the most active in Asia, had been compelled to be baptized or to quit the country, as the court of Madrid had ordered in 1750, all business would have been thrown into the utmost confusion.

Some

Some politicians think this plan would not be detrimental, an opinion that has been long entertained. The Philippines had but juſt opened a communication with America, when the Spaniards thought of giving them up, as being prejudicial to the intereſt of the mother country. Philip II. and his ſucceſſors conſtantly rejected that propoſal; which was often renewed. The city of Seville in 1731, and that of Cadiz in 1733, entertained more rational notions. Both theſe cities imagined, and it is rather ſurpriſing that the idea did not occur ſooner, that it would be advantageous to the Spaniards to have a direct concern with the trade of Aſia, and that the poſſeſſions they had in thoſe parts ſhould be made the center of their traffic. In vain was it urged, that as India affords ſilks and cottons ſuperior to thoſe of Europe, both in workmanſhip and colouring, and at a much cheaper price, the national manufactures would be ruined. This objection might have its weight with regard to ſome nations, but appeared altogether frivolous, conſidering the ſituation of Spain.

The Spaniards, indeed, uſe none but foreign ſtuffs and linen either for wearing apparel or furniture. Thoſe continual demands muſt neceſſarily increaſe the induſtry, the wealth, the population and ſtrength of their neighbours, who avail themſelves of theſe advantages, to keep that nation which ſupplies them in a ſtate of dependence. It would ſurely be acting with more wiſdom and dignity, were they to uſe the Indian

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BOOK V.

manufactures. They would be preferable, both in point of œconomy and elegance, and would lessen that competition which must prove fatal to them in the end.

How much the Philippines might be improved by industry.

THE inconveniences which usually attend new undertakings, are here previously obviated. The islands which Spain possesses lie between Japan, China, Cochinchina, Siam, Borneo, Macassar and the Moluccas, and are favourably situated for forming connections with those several kingdoms. If they are too far distant from Malabar, Coromandel and Bengal, effectually to protect any settlements that might be formed there; on the other hand, they are so near several countries which the Europeans frequent, that they could easily exclude their enemies from those places in time of war. Besides, their distance from the continent secures them from the ravages that is exposed to, and prevents them from being tempted to interfere in the divisions which arise there. This distance, however, does not prevent them from being sure of subsistence at home. It is true, the Philippines are subject to frequent earthquakes, and they have incessant rains from July to November; but all this does not diminish the fertility of the ground. No country in Asia abounds more with fish, corn, fruits, vegetables, cattle, sago, cocoa trees, and esculent plants of all kinds.

THESE islands afford even some commodities fit for the trade from one part of India to another, such as *ebony*, tobacco, wax, those bird's nests

nefts that are in fuch eftimation, pitch and tar, a kind of white hemp fit for ropes and fails, plenty of excellent timber; cowries, pearls, and fugar which may be cultivated to any quantity, and gold. There are inconteftable proofs, that in the earlieft times the Spaniards fent over to America large quantities of gold found in the river by the natives of this country. If the quantity they now collect does not exceed twelve hundred weight in a year, this muft be imputed to the tyranny of the Spaniards, who will not fuffer them to reap the benefit of their own induftry. A reafonable moderation would induce them to refume thefe labours, and to apply to others ftill more beneficial to Spain.

THE colony will then produce for exportation to Europe, alum, buffalo fkins, caffia, the *Faba Sancti Ignatii*, a ufeful drug in phyfic, indigo, cocoa, which has been brought hither from Mexico, and fucceeds very well; woods for dying, cotton, and baftard cinnamon, which will perhaps be improved, and which the Chinefe were fatisfied with, fuch as it was, before they frequented Batavia. Some travellers affirm, that the ifland of Mindanao where it grows, formerly produced clove trees alfo. They add, that the fovereign of the ifland ordered them to be rooted up, faying he had better do it himfelf than be compelled to it by the Dutch. This anecdote looks very fufpicious. It is certain, however, that the vicinity of the Moluccas affords opportunities

for

for procuring with great facility the trees that bear nutmeg and cloves.

FOREIGN markets will furniſh Spain with ſilks, callicoes and other articles of the produce of Aſia for their own conſumption, and will ſell them cheaper to the Spaniards than to their competitors. All other nations in Europe employ the ſpecie they get from America to trade with in India. Before this ſpecie can reach the place of its deſtination, it muſt have paid conſiderable duties, taken a prodigious compaſs, and have been expoſed to great riſques; whereas the Spaniards, by ſending it directly from America to the Philippines, would ſave duties, time and inſurance; ſo that by furniſhing the ſame quantity of ſpecie as the rival nations, they would in reality make their purchaſes at a che per rate.

EVEN the quantity of ſpecie conveyed from one place to another might in time be diminiſhed, if theſe iſlands were as much improved as they might be. For this purpoſe the nations who frequented theſe ſea-ports before they were invaded by the Spaniards ſhould be recalled, and every method ſhould be uſed to obliterate from the memory of the Chineſe the fate of thoſe forty thouſand ſubjects of their empire, who were ſettled in the Philippines, and were almoſt all inhumanly maſſacred, becauſe they would not tamely ſubmit to the horrid yoke that was laid on them. The Chineſe would then deſert Batavia, which is too far diſtant, and

and cauſe arts and agriculture to revive in theſe iſlands. Their example would ſoon be followed by many free traders of Europe, who are diſperſed in various parts of India, and conſider themſelves as victims to the monopoly of their reſpective companies. The natives, excited to labour by the advantages inſeparable from ſuch a competition, would no longer remain in a ſtate of indolence. They would be fond of a government that would ſtudy to promote their happineſs; would chearfully ſubmit to its laws, and in a ſhort time would themſelves become Spaniards. If our conjectures are well founded, ſuch a colony would be more profitable than a mere inactive ſettlement, which devours part of the treaſures of America. Such a revolution may eaſily be brought about, and muſt infallibly be haſtened by eſtabliſhing a freedom of trade, an unlimited civil and religious liberty, and a perfect ſecurity for the property of individuals.

This can never be the work of an excluſive company. For theſe two centuries paſt, ſince the Europeans have frequented the ſeas of Aſia, they have never been animated by a truly laudable ſpirit. In vain have ſociety, morality and politics been improved amongſt us, thoſe diſtant countries have only been witneſſes of our rapacioufneſs, our reſtleſsneſs, and our tyranny. The miſchief we have done to other parts of the world has ſometimes been compenſated by the knowledge we have imparted to them, and the wiſe inſtitutions we have eſtabliſhed amongſt them: but the Indians have ſtill continued under

der their former darkneſs and deſpotiſm, and we have taken no pains to reſcue them from thoſe dreadful calamities. Had the ſeveral governments directed the ſteps of their free traders, it is probable that the love of glory would have been united to a paſſion for riches, and that ſome nations would have made attempts fit to render their names illuſtrious. Such noble and diſintereſted intentions could never be purſued by any company of merchants: who being confined by the narrow views of preſent profit, have never employed their thoughts about the happineſs of the people with whom they traded; a circumſtance which being naturally expected hath never been imputed to them as a crime.

How much would it redound to the honour of Spain, from which, perhaps, nothing great is at preſent to be expected, to ſhew a ſenſibility for the intereſts of mankind, and to endeavour to promote them! That nation now begins to ſhake off the fetters of prejudice, which have kept it in a ſtate of infancy, notwithſtanding its natural ſtrength. Its ſubjects are not yet degraded and corrupted by the contagion of riches, from which they have been happily preſerved by their own indolence, and by the rapaciouſneſs of their government. Theſe people muſt neceſſarily be inclined to what is good; they are capable of knowing it, and no doubt would practiſe it, having all the means in their power from the poſſeſſions their conqueſts have given them in the richeſt countries of the univerſe. Their ſhips, ſailing from their

ſeveral

ſeveral ports, might either meet at the Canary iſlands, or ſeparately proceed to their ſeveral deſtinations, and thus be the means of procuring happineſs to the remoteſt parts of Aſia. They might return from India by the Cape of Good Hope; but would go thither by the South Sea, where the ſale of their cargoes would greatly increaſe their capitals. This advantage would ſecure to them a ſuperiority over their competitors, who ſail with falſe bills of lading, ſeldom carrying any thing but ſilver. They would meet with a freſh ſupply of proviſions up the river Plata if they ſhould be in want of them. Thoſe who were able to wait longer, would only put into Chili, or even proceed to the iſland of Juan Fernandez.

THIS delightful iſland, which takes it name from a Spaniard to whom it had been given, and who took a diſlike to it after he had lived there ſome conſiderable time, is ſituated at 110 leagues diſtance from the continent of Chili. Its greateſt length is but about five leagues, and the breadth not quite two. In this ſmall ſpot, where the land is very mountainous and irregular, there is a clear ſky, pure air, excellent water, and every vegetable that is deemed a ſpecific againſt the ſcurvy. It has appeared from experience, that all ſorts of European and American corn, fruit and quadrupeds will ſucceed there extremely well. The coaſts abound with fiſh; and beſides all theſe advantages, there is alſo a good harbour, where ſhips are ſheltered from

from every wind but the north, and even that never blows ſo ſtrongly as to be attended with any danger.

THESE conveniences have induced all the pirates who have infeſted the coaſts of Peru to put in at Juan Fernandez. Anſon, who went to the South Seas, with more important projects, found there a comfortable and ſafe aſylum. The Spaniards, at length convinced that the precaution they had taken to deſtroy the cattle they had placed there, is inſufficient to keep off their enemies, muſt build a fort on the iſland. That military poſt will become a uſeful ſettlement, if the court of Madrid will but attend to her own intereſt. It is needleſs to purſue this ſubject any further. The plan, which we have done nothing more than ſuggeſt, would evidently tend to promote the trade, the navigation, and the greatneſs of Spain. The connections that Ruſſia keeps up with China by land, can never acquire the ſame degree of importance.

General idea of Tartary.

BETWEEN theſe two vaſt empires, whoſe greatneſs aſtoniſhes the imagination, there is an immenſe ſpace, known in the earlieſt ages by the name of Scythia, and ſince by that of Tartary. This region, taken in its full extent, is bounded to the weſt by the Caſpian ſea and Perſia; to the ſouth by Perſia, Indoſtan, the kingdoms of Arracan and Ava, China, and Corea; to the eaſt by the pacific ocean; and to the north by the frozen ocean. One part of theſe vaſt deſerts

ſerts is ſubject to the Chineſe empire; another is under the dominion of Ruſſia; the third is independent, and is called Khariſm, and Greater and Leſs Bucharia.

The inhabitants of theſe celebrated regions have always lived by hunting and fiſhing, and upon the milk of their flocks, and have ever had an equal averſion for living in cities, a ſedentary life, and for huſbandry. Their origin and their cuſtoms, ſo far as we are acquainted with them, are equally antient, for the former could never be traced on account of their ſequeſtered and wandering way of life. They have lived in the ſame manner as their forefathers did, and if we look back to the remoteſt antiquity, we ſhall find a very ſtriking reſemblance between the men of the earlieſt ages, and the Tartars of the preſent time.

These people have in general been followers of the great Lama, who reſides at Putali, a town ſituated in a diſtrict which partly belongs to Tartary, and partly to India. This extenſive region, where mountains riſe above one another, is called Boutan by the inhabitants of Indoſtan, Tangut by the Tartars, Tſanli by the Chineſe, Laſſa by the Indians beyond the Ganges, and Thibet by the Europeans.

Their religion appears, from monuments of undoubted authority, to be of above three thouſand years ſtanding, and is founded on the exiſtence of a Supreme Being, and the ſublimeſt principles of morality.

It

BOOK V.

It has been generally imagined, that the followers of the Lama believe him to be immortal; that in order to maintain the deception, this divinity never appears but to a few favourites: that when he receives the adorations of the people, it is always in a kind of tabernacle, where a dim light ſhews rather a faint repreſentation, than an exact reſemblance of that living god; that when he dies, another prieſt is ſubſtituted in his ſtead, as nearly of the ſame ſize and figure as poſſible; and that by means of theſe precautions, the deluſion is kept up, even on the very ſpot where the farce is acted; and much more, without doubt, in the minds of believers who are further removed from it.

A sagacious philoſopher has lately removed this prejudice. It is true, the great Lamas ſeldom ſhew themſelves, the better to maintain that veneration they have inſpired for their perſon and their myſteries; but they give audience to ambaſſadors, and admit princes who come to viſit them. But if their perſon is ſeldom to be ſeen, except on ſome important occaſions, or on great feſtivals, their picture is always in full view, being hung up over the doors of the temple at Putali.

What has given riſe to the fable of the immortality of the Lamas, is, that it is a tenet of their faith, that the holy ſpirit which has animated one of theſe pontiffs, immediately upon his death paſſes into the body of him who is duly elected to ſucceed him. This tranſmigration of the divine ſpirit is perfectly conſonant to the doctrine of

of the metempſychoſis, which has always been the eſtabliſhed ſyſtem in thoſe parts.

THE religion of Lama made conſiderable progreſs in early times. It was adopted in a large part of the globe. It is profeſſed all over Thibet and Mongalia; is almoſt univerſal in Greater and Leſs Bucharia, and ſeveral provinces of Tartary, and has ſome followers in the kingdom of Caſſimere in India, and in China.

THIS is the only worſhip that can boaſt of ſuch remote antiquity, without any mixture of other ſyſtems. The religion of the Chineſe has been frequently adulterated by the introduction of foreign deities and ſuperſtitions; which have been adapted to the taſte of the lower claſs of people. The Jews have ſeen an end of their hierarchy, and their temple has been demoliſhed. Alexander and Mohammed uſed their utmoſt endeavours to extinguiſh the ſacred fire of the Gaurs. Tamerlane and the Moguls have in a great meaſure diminiſhed the worſhippers of the god Brama in India. But neither time, fortune, nor men, have ever been able to ſhake the divine power of the great Lama.

THIS ſtability and perpetuity muſt be peculiar to thoſe religions that have a fixed ſyſtem, a well-regulated eccleſiaſtical hierarchy, and a ſupreme head, who by his authority ſupports thoſe doctrines in their primitive ſtate, by condemning all new opinions, which pride might be tempted to introduce, and credulity to adopt. The Lamas themſelves confeſs that they are no gods; but they pretend to repreſent the divinity, and to have re-

 ceived

BOOK V.

ceived a power from heaven to decide ultimately on whatever relates to public worſhip. Their theocracy extends as fully to temporal as to ſpiritual matters; but all civil matters, held profane by them, they conſider as inconſiſtent with their dignity, and therefore commit the care of government to perſons whom they judge to be worthy of their confidence. This has ſucceſſively occaſioned the loſs of ſeveral provinces of their vaſt dominions, which have fallen a prey to their governors. The great Lama, who formerly was abſolute maſter of all Thibet, now poſſeſſes but a ſmall part of it.

The religious opinions of the Tartars have never enervated their valour. It was to oppoſe their inroads into China, that three hundred years before the chriſtian æra, that famous wall was built, which extends from the river Hoambo to the ſea of Kamtſchatka; which has a terrace running all along the top of it, and is flanked in different parts with large towers, after the ancient manner of fortifying. Such a monument ſhews that there muſt have been at that time a prodigious population in the empire: but at the ſame time it ſeems to indicate that there was a want of prowefs and military ſkill. If the Chineſe had been men of courage, they would themſelves have attacked the roving tribes, or kept them in awe by well-diſciplined armies; if they had been ſkilled in the art of war, they would have known that lines five hundred leagues long could not be defended in every part, and that if they were broken but in one

one place, all the reſt of the fortification would become uſeleſs.

The inroads, indeed, of the Tartars continued till the thirteenth century. At that period, the empire was conquered by thoſe barbarians, under the command of Gingis-Khan. This foreign power was not deſtroyed till after eighty-nine years, when it fell into the hands of an indolent prince, who was governed by women, and was a ſlave to his miniſters.

When the Tartars were expelled from the conqueſts they had made, they did not adopt the laws and government of China. When they repaſſed the great wall, they relapſed into barbariſm, and lived in their deſerts, in as uncivilized a ſtate as they had done before. They united, however, with the few who had continued in their roving way of life, and formed ſeveral hords, which inſenſibly became populous, and in proceſs of time incorporated into that of the Manchews. Their union inſpired them again with the project of invading China, which was torn with domeſtic diſſentions. The diſcontented parties were then ſo numerous, that they had no leſs than eight different armies under the command of as many chiefs. In this confuſion the Tartars, who had long ravaged the northern provinces of the empire, ſeized upon the capital in 1644, and ſoon after upon the whole kingdom.

This revolution did not ſeem ſo much to ſubdue China, as to add to its extent, by the acceſſion of a great part of Tartary. Soon after this, China was further enlarged by the ſubmiſſion of the

Mogul Tartars, celebrated for having founded moſt of the thrones in Aſia, and in particular that of Indoſtan.

THE conquerors ſubmitted to the laws of the people they had conquered, and exchanged their own cuſtoms and manners for thoſe of their ſlaves. This has been alledged as a proof of the wiſdom of the Chineſe government; but it ſeems to be no more than a natural conſequence of this plain and ſimple principle, that the leſs number muſt yield to the greater. The Tartars, in the moſt populous empire upon earth, were not in the proportion of one to ten thouſand; ſo that, to bring about a change of manners and government, one Tartar muſt have prevailed over ten thouſand Chineſe, which is hardly poſſible in the nature of things. We have ſufficient proofs of the excellence of the Chineſe adminiſtration, without having recourſe to this Beſides, thoſe Tartars had no ſettled cuſtoms and manners; no wonder, then, if they adopted indiſcriminately inſtitutions they found in China. This revolution was ſcarce completed, when the empire was threatened with a new enemy, that might prove a formidable one.

Contentions of the Ruſſians and Chineſe in Tartary.

THE Ruſſians, who towards the latter end of the ſixteenth century had conquered the uncultivated plains of Siberia, had penetrated through a number of deſerts to the river Amour, which led them to the eaſtern ſea, and as far as Selenga, which brought them on the confines of China, a country ſo highly extolled for its riches.

THE Chineſe were apprehenſive that the incurſions of the Ruſſians might in time give them ſome diſturbance,

diſturbance, and they erected ſome forts to reſtrain this neighbouring power, whoſe ambition began to excite their jealouſy. Sharp conteſts then aroſe between the two nations concerning their boundaries. Skirmiſhes were frequent between the parties engaged in the purſuits of the chace, and an open war was daily expected. Very fortunately the plenipotentiaries of the two courts found means to bring about a reconciliation in 1689; the limits were fixed at the river Kerbechi, near the place of negociation, 300 leagues from the great wall. This was the firſt treaty the Chineſe had ever been concerned in ſince the foundation of their empire, and it brought on a new arrangement. They granted the Ruſſians the liberty of ſending a caravan every year to Pekin, an indulgence which had always been denied to foreigners with the utmoſt precaution. It was eaſily perceived that the Tartars, though they conformed to the manners and government of the Chineſe, did not adopt their political maxims.

The Ruſſians obtain leave to ſend a caravan to China.

THIS liberty granted to the Ruſſians did not inſpire them with moderation. They perſiſted in their uſurpations, and built a city thirty leagues beyond the ſtipulated limits, which they called Albaſſinſkoi. The Chineſe having in vain complained of this encroachment, at laſt determined to avenge themſelves in 1715. As the Czar was engaged in a war on the Baltic, and could not ſpare troops to defend the extremities of Tartary, the place was taken after a ſiege of three years.

THE court of Peterſburgh was prudent enough not to give way to a fruitleſs reſentment. They

ſent a miniſter to Pekin in 1719, with inſtructions to renew the trade that had been loſt amidſt the late diſturbances. The negociation ſucceeded; but the caravan of 1721 not being conducted with more caution than the former, it was agreed that for the future no tranſactions ſhould be carried on between the two nations except upon the frontiers. Freſh contentions have again interrupted this intercourſe, and they now carry on only a contraband trade; even that is inconſiderable, but it is thought the Ruſſians are endeavouring to increaſe it.

THE advantages they will derive from it, are ſufficient to induce them to ſurmount all the difficulties inſeparable from ſuch an undertaking. They are the only nation in Europe that can trade with the Chineſe without money, and barter their own commodities for thoſe of China. With their rich and choice furs, they will always purchaſe what the Chineſe can furniſh to great part of the globe. Independent of the commodities they want for their own conſumption, they may eſtabliſh a commerce in the articles of tea and rhubarb. It would be both prudent and eaſy to re-export theſe two articles, becauſe when brought over by land, they will be preſerved in higher perfection than they can poſſibly be in a voyage over thoſe immenſe ſeas, which every commodity, imported from ſuch remote parts of Aſia, muſt neceſſarily paſs. But to turn this trade to any advantage, it muſt be conducted upon other principles than have hitherto been followed.

FORMERLY

FORMERLY a caravan went every year from Peterſburgh, traverſed immenſe deſerts, and was met on the frontiers of China by ſome hundreds of ſoldiers, who eſcorted it to the capital of the empire. There, all who belonged to it were ſhut up in a caravanſera, to wait till the merchants ſhould offer them the refuſe of their warehouſes. The traffic being thus completed, the caravan returned to Ruſſia, and arrived at Peterſburgh three years after it had ſet out from thence.

IN the ordinary courſe of things, the indifferent merchandiſe brought by the caravan would have been of very little value; but as this trade was carried on for the court, and that the goods were always ſold under the immediate inſpection of the ſovereign, commodities of the worſt kind acquired a value. Being admitted to this kind of fair, was a privilege which the monarch ſeldom granted but to his favourites. All were deſirous of approving themſelves worthy of this diſtinction, and the way to ſucceed was by over-bidding each other without diſcretion, as each was ambitious that his name ſhould appear upon the liſt of the buyers. Notwithſtanding this ſhameful emulation, what was put up to ſale was ſo trifling, that the produce, deducting the conſumption of the court, never amounted to 100,000 crowns *. To make this traffic of greater conſequence, it ſhould be intruſted to the ſkill, activity and management of private perſons.

* 13,125l.

Projects of the Ruſſian court to trade to India through independent Tartary.

THIS method ſhould have been adopted, if a communication could have been eſtabliſhed between Siberia and India by independent Tartary, as Peter the firſt had deſigned. That great prince, whoſe mind was always engaged in ſome uſeful project, was deſirous of opening that communication by means of the Sirth, which waters the Turkeſtan, and in 1719 he ſent 2500 men in order to make himſelf maſter of that river.

THERE was no ſuch river to be found; its waters had been turned off, and conveyed through ſeveral channels to the lake Atall. This had been done by the Uſbeck Tartars, who had taken umbrage at the repeated obſervations they had ſeen making. The Ruſſians determined therefore to return to Aſtracan. The court of Peterſburgh was obliged to relinquiſh the project, and remain ſatisfied with the intercourſe already formed with India by the Caſpian ſea.

Intercourſe between Ruſſia and India by the Caſpian ſea.

THIS was, in the remoteſt ages, the track by which the north and ſouth communicated with each other. The regions bordering upon that immenſe lake, which are at preſent very much depopulated, extremely poor, and in a ſavage eſtate, afford to intelligent minds evident proofs of former ſplendour. Coins of the ancient Kaliphs are daily diſcovered there. Theſe monuments, with others equally authentic, would ſeem to favour the account of ſome Indians having been ſhipwrecked on the coaſts of the Elbe in the reign of Auguſtus, which has always been conſidered as fabulous, notwithſtanding the concurrent teſtimony of cotemporary writers who related the fact.

fact. It is inconceivable how any inhabitants of India could sail on the Germanic seas; but, as Voltaire observes, it was not more wonderful to see an Indian trading in the northern countries, than to see a Roman make his way into India through Arabia. The Indians went into Persia, where they embarked on the Hircanian sea, sailed up the Wolga, penetrated into Permia by the Kama, and from thence might embark on the northern sea or on the Baltic. Men of enterprising genius have appeared in all ages.

WHATEVER may be thought of these conjectures, the English had no sooner discovered Archangel about the middle of the sixteenth century, and settled a commerce with Russia, than they formed the project of opening a way into Persia by the Wolga and the Caspian sea, which would be much easier and shorter than that of the Portuguese, who were obliged to sail round Africa and part of Asia, to get into the gulph of Persia. A further inducement to attempt it was, that the northern parts of Persia bordering upon the Caspian sea, produce much richer commodities than the southern. The silks of Chirvan, Mazanderan, and more especially Gilan, are the best in all the east, and might be employed with advantage in any manufactures. But the trade of the English was not yet sufficiently confirmed to encounter the difficulties that must attend so vast and so complicated an undertaking.

SOME years after, a duke of Holstein, who had established some silk manufactures in his dominions, was not deterred by these difficulties. He wanted

wanted to get the raw ſilk from Perſia, and ſent ambaſſadors thither, who loſt their lives on the Caſpian ſea.

WHEN the French were convinced of the influence of trade on the political balance of Europe, they alſo wiſhed to procure Perſian ſilks by way of Ruſſia; but their fatal paſſion for conqueſt made them forget this project, as well as many others that had been ſuggeſted by men of underſtanding, for the welfare of that great nation.

PETER I. guided by his own genius, his own experience, and the informations of foreigners, could not but be ſenſible at laſt, that his ſubjects were the people who ought to enrich themſelves by the production of Perſia, and in time that of India. Accordingly in 1722, at the firſt beginning of the commotions that have overturned the empire of the Sophis, that great prince ſeized upon the fertile regions bordering on the Caſpian ſea. The heat of the climate, the dampneſs of the ſoil, and the malignancy of the air, deſtroyed the troops that were left to defend thoſe conqueſts. Ruſſia, however, did not reſolve to relinquiſh the provinces ſhe had uſurped, till ſhe found in the year 1736 that Kouli-Khan, who had conquered the Turks, could compel her to reſtore them.

THE court of Peterſburgh laid aſide all thoughts of carrying on any commerce with that part of the world, when an Engliſhman of the name of Elton laid a ſcheme in 1741, for putting his country in poſſeſſion of it. This enterpriſing man was in the ſervice of Ruſſia: his propoſal was to convey Engliſh woollen cloths by way of the

Wolga

Wolga and the Caſpian ſea, to Perſia, to the north of Indoſtan, and to the greateſt part of Tartary. In conſequence of this traffic, he was to receive in exchange, gold, and ſuch commodities as the Armenians ſold at an extravagant price, being maſters of all the inland trade of Aſia. This project was warmly adopted by the Engliſh company in Muſcovy, and favoured by the Ruſſian miniſtry.

BUT the Engliſh adventurer had ſcarce begun to put it in execution, when Kouli-Khan, who wanted bold and active men to ſecond his ambition, found means to entice him into his ſervice, and by his aſſiſtance to make himſelf maſter of the Caſpian ſea. The court of Peterſburgh, exaſperated at this treachery, revoked in 1746 all the privileges they had granted; but this was an ineffectual remedy for ſo great an evil. The untimely death of the Perſian tyrant was much more likely to bring matters into their former ſtate.

THAT great revolution, which once more plunged the Sophy's dominions into greater anarchy than ever, reſtored to the Ruſſians the dominion over the Caſpian ſea. This was a neceſſary prelude to the opening of a trade with Perſia and India, but was not alone ſufficient to enſure its ſucceſs; which met with almoſt inſuperable obſtacles from the Armenians. An active nation, accuſtomed to the eaſtern manners, in poſſeſſion of a large capital, extremely frugal in their expences, who had already formed connections from time immemorial, entered into the minuteſt details, and

and embraced the moſt comprehenſive ſpeculations: ſuch a nation was not eaſily to be ſupplanted. Nor did the court of Peterſburgh expect it, but wiſely determined to allure a number of thoſe artful, induſtrious, and wealthy people to ſettle at Aſtracan. It is through their hands that all merchandiſe coming from Aſia to Ruſſia by land, always did and ſtill does paſs. This traffic is very inconſiderable, and it will require time before it can be increaſed, unleſs ſome expedient can be found to diſpoſe of the articles by re-exportation. To make this more evident, it will only be neceſſary to take a curſory view of the preſent ſtate of Ruſſia.

State of the Ruſſian empire, and the means neceſſary to make it flouriſh.

THIS empire, which, like all others, roſe from ſmall beginnings, is become in proceſs of time the largeſt in the world. Its extent from eaſt to weſt is 2200 leagues, and from ſouth to north about 800.

MANY of the people of this vaſt empire never had any form of government, and have none to this day. Thoſe who by violence, or from particular circumſtances, have obtained the rule over the reſt, have always been actuated by Aſiatic principles, and have been oppreſſors or arbitrary tyrants. The only point in which they have conformed to the cuſtoms of Europe, has been the inſtitution of a peerage.

THESE are undoubtedly the chief cauſes which have prevented the increaſe of the human race in that immenſe country. By the ſurvey taken in 1747, there appeared but 6,646,390 perſons who paid the poll tax; and in theſe were comprehended

all

all the males from the infant to the oldeſt man. Suppoſing the number of women to be equal to that of men, there will appear to be 13,292,780 ſlaves in Ruſſia. To this calculation muſt be added the claſſes of men in the empire who are exempt from paying this ſhameful tax; the military, who amount to 200,000 men; the nobility and clergy, who are ſuppoſed to amount to the like number; and the inhabitants of the Ukraine and Livonia, computed at 1,200,000. So that the whole population of Ruſſia does not exceed 14,892,780 perſons of both ſexes.

It would be as needleſs as it is impoſſible, to number the people who rove about thoſe vaſt deſerts. As theſe hords of Tartars, Siberians, Samoiedes, Laplanders and Oſtiacs, cannot contribute to the wealth, ſtrength, or ſplendor of a ſtate, they are to be reckoned of little or no conſequence in the account.

The population being ſmall, the revenues of the empire cannot be conſiderable. When Peter I. came to the crown, the taxes brought in but twenty-five millions *; he raiſed them to ſixty-five †. Since his death they have not greatly increaſed, and yet the people are ſinking under a burden which their ſtrength, enervated by deſpotiſm, is unable to ſupport.

Every circumſtance ſeems to call upon Ruſſia to provide a remedy againſt this want of population and wealth. The only effectual one is agriculture. It would be needleſs to encourage it in

* 1,093,750l. † 2,843,750l.

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the northern provinces; nothing can thrive in thoſe frozen deſerts. The ſcattered inhabitants of this inhoſpitable climate will never be ſupplied with any kind of food and raiment except what they can procure from birds, fiſh and wild beaſts, nor will they ever have any thing beſides theſe to pay their taxes with.

FURTHER from the north, nature begins to wear a milder aſpect, and the country is more populous, and more capable of vegetation; yet throughout an immenſe extent of territory there are no marks of plenty, from the want of men and ſufficient means for the cultivation of the land. The ſoil will become ſufficiently fertile, if agriculture meets with reward and encouragement from the wiſdom of government. The Ukraine deſerves particular attention.

THAT ſpacious region, which has belonged to the Porte and to Poland, and is now a part of the Czar's dominions, is perhaps the moſt fruitful country in the known world. It ſupplies Ruſſia with moſt of her home conſumption, and articles of trade; and yet ſhe does not receive the twentieth part of what it might be made to produce. The Coſſacks, who inhabited that country, have almoſt all periſhed in deſtructive wars. Some attempts have been made to replace them by Oſtiacs, and Samoiedes; but it has not been conſidered, that in blending men ſo ſmall and deformed with others of a tall, robuſt, and valiant race, the former would only ſerve to make the latter degenerate. It would be very eaſy and practicable to give encouragement to the Moldavians and Walachians

to ſettle there, as they profeſs the ſame religion as Ruſſia, and conſider it as the ſeat of the Greek empire.

Nothing would be more conducive to cultivation than the working of the mines. Some are to be met with in ſeveral provinces, but they are numerous in Siberia, though it is a low country, and the ſoil is moiſt and marſhy. The iron that is dug out of theſe mines is better than in any other part of Ruſſia, and equal to that of Sweden. The working of them would employ a number of men, and furniſh excellent implements of huſbandry to a ſet of miſerable ſlaves, who are compelled to dig a hard and ſtubborn ſoil with inſtruments of wood. Beſides theſe iron mines, there are alſo others which contain thoſe precious metals that are ſo eagerly and ſo univerſally coveted, and which are to be found in no part of the country except Siberia. The ſilver mines near Argun have long been known, and others, both of ſilver and gold, have lately been diſcovered in the country of the Baſkirs. It would be prudent for ſome nations to neglect and ſtop up theſe ſources of wealth; but that is not the caſe with Ruſſia, where all the inland provinces are ſo poor, that they are ſcarce acquainted with thoſe ſigns that have been univerſally agreed upon to anſwer every article of commerce.

The trade which the Ruſſians have opened with China, Perſia, Turkey and Poland, conſiſts principally in furs, ſuch as ermine, ſables, white wolves and black foxes ſkins, which all come from Siberia. Some ſkins that are remarkably fine, which have very

very long gloſſy hair, of a beautiful colour, or happen to be particularly pleaſing to the buyer, ſell at a moſt extravagant price. Theſe branches of commerce might become more conſiderable, and be extended to other objects.

But the greateſt demand for the produce of the country will always be on the ſide of the Baltic. It ſeldom paſſes through the hands of the Ruſſian merchants. They commonly want ſkill, ſtock, credit and liberty. The import and export of all commodities is tranſacted by foreign houſes.

No country is ſo happily ſituated for extending its commerce. Almoſt all its rivers are navigable. Peter the Great improved this natural advantage by the aſſiſtance of art, and ordered canals to be cut to join thoſe rivers together. The moſt important of them are finiſhed; others are not quite completed, and ſome are only planned. Such is the grand project of joining the Caſpian ſea to the Euxine, by digging a canal from the Tanais to the Wolga.

Unfortunately theſe means which render the circulation of all commodities ſo eaſy in the interior parts of Ruſſia, and ſo much facilitate an intercourſe with all parts of the globe, are made uſeleſs by thoſe reſtraints which are not to be ſurmounted by induſtry.

The government have reſerved to themſelves the privilege of buying and ſelling the moſt valuable productions of the country; and as long as this monopoly continues, trade will not be carried on with any degree of honeſty or ſpirit. The abolition of this deſtructive monopoly would contribute

tribute to public profperity, but that alone would not be fufficient, without the reduction of the army.

When Peter I. came to the crown, the military in Ruffia confifted only of 40,000 Strelits, undifciplined and ferocious men, who had no courage but againft the people whom they oppreffed, and againft the fovereign whom they depofed or murdered at pleafure. This great prince difbanded thofe feditious troops, and eftablifhed an army, modelled after thofe of the other ftates in Europe.

Notwithstanding the goodnefs of its troops, Ruffia is of all the different powers that which ought to be the moft cautious of entering into a war. The defire of acquiring an influence in the affairs of Europe fhould never tempt the Ruffians far from their own frontiers; they could not act without fubfidies, and it would be the higheft abfurdity for a nation that has but fix perfons to a league fquare, ever to think of engaging in foreign fervice. Nor fhould they be excited to hoftilities by the defire of enlarging their dominions, which are already too extenfive. Ruffia will never reap the benefit of the labours of the Czar, and form a compact ftate, or become an enlightened and flourifhing nation, unlefs it renounces the rage of conqueft, to apply folely to the arts of peace. None of its neighbours can compel it to depart from this falutary fyftem.

On the north fide, the empire is better guarded by the frozen fea, than it would be by fquadrons and fortreffes.

To the eaſt, a ſingle battalion and two field pieces, would diſperſe all the hords of Tartars that ſhould attempt to moleſt them.

SHOULD Perſia ever again become powerful enough to make any attempts againſt this empire, they would be rendered ineffectual by the Caſpian ſea, and by thoſe immenſe deſerts which ſeparate that country from Ruſſia.

To the ſouth, the Turks have at preſent loſt their power, and the war would be equally detrimental to the conquered or the conquering party, on account of the ſpot where it muſt be carried on.

To the weſt, the Ruſſians have nothing to fear from the Poles, who never had any fortified towns, nor troops, nor revenue, nor government, and have hardly any territory left.

SWEDEN has loſt all that made her formidable, and without doubt may even be deprived of Finland, whenever it ſhould ſuit the intereſt of the court of Peterſburg.

SHOULD the genius of Frederick, which now ſerves as a counterpoiſe in the north to the forces of Muſcovy, deſcend to his ſucceſſors, it is not likely that the ambition of Brandenburgh ſhould ever turn towards Ruſſia. Thoſe monarchs could never venture an attack upon that empire, without turning their forces alſo towards Germany; and this would neceſſarily divide their ſtrength in ſuch a manner, that it could not act with efficacy.

THE reſult of theſe diſcuſſions is, that it is for the true intereſt of Ruſſia to reduce her land forces, and poſſibly her navy alſo.

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THE ſmall connections of that empire with the reſt of Europe, were wholly carried on by land, when the Engliſh, in ſeeking a paſſage to the Eaſt Indies by the northern ſeas, diſcovered the port of Archangel. Sailing up the Dwina, they came to Moſcow, and there laid the foundation of a new trade.

RUSSIA had as yet no other communication with her neighbours but by this port, when Peter I. invited the traders who frequent the white ſea to come to the Baltic, and endeavoured to procure a more extenſive and advantageous mart for the productions of his empire. His creative genius ſoon enlarged his views. He was ambitious of making his country become a maritime power, and ſtationed his fleets at Cronſtadt, which is a harbour to Peterſburg.

THE ſea is not broad enough before the mouth of the harbour. The ſhips that are coming in, are forcibly driven by the impetuoſity of the Neva upon the dangerous coaſts of Finland. The way to it is through a channel ſo full of breakers, that they cannot be avoided unleſs the weather is remarkably fine. The ſhips ſoon rot in the harbour. The ſailing of the ſquadrons is greatly retarded by the ice. There is no getting out but by an eaſterly wind, and the weſterly winds blow in thoſe latitudes the greateſt part of the ſummer. Another inconvenience is, that the dock-yards are at Peterſburg, from whence the ſhips cannot get to Cronſtadt, without paſſing over a very dangerous flat, that lies in the middle of the river.

If Peter I. had not had that partiality which great men have, as well as others, for their own plans, he might eaſily have been made ſenſible that Cronſtadt and Peterſburg are improper places for the naval forces of Ruſſia, and that it is in vain to expect that art ſhould remove every natural diſadvantage. He would have given the preference to Revel, which is much fitter for the purpoſe. Perhaps too, his own reflections would have led him to conſider that the nature of his empire was not calculated for that ſpecies of power.

Russia has but few ſea-coaſts; moſt of them are not peopled; and no navigation will ever be carried on, unleſs there ſhould be a change of government. Where then will officers be found capable of commanding men of war?

Peter I. however, found means to form a navy. A paſſion which nothing could controul, made him ſurmount obſtacles which were thought to be invincible; but this he did with more parade than utility. If ever his ſucceſſors are earneſtly intent to promote the good of their empire, they will forego the vain glory of diſplaying their flag in diſtant latitudes, where they have no trade to protect, as theirs is all carried on upon their own coaſts, and only by foreign merchants. When the Ruſſians thus change their ſyſtem, they will ſave the needleſs expence of thirty-ſix or forty men of war, and will be ſatisfied with their galleys, which are ſufficient for their defence, and would even enable them to attack all the powers on the *Baltic*, if it ſhould be neceſſary.

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THESE galleys are of different rates: ſome are fitted for cavalry, but a greater number for infantry. As the troops themſelves, who are taught to manage the oar, compoſe the crew, the galleys are armed without expence or delay. The anchor is dropt every night, and the troops land where they are leaſt expected.

WHEN the landing is effected, the troops draw the galleys aſhore, and form a kind of intrenchment with them. Part of the army are left as a guard, and the reſt diſperſe about the country that they intend to lay under contribution. When the expedition is over, they reimbark, and renew their plunders in other places. Experience has ſhewn how much may be done by theſe armaments.

THE changes we have ſuggeſted, are indiſpenſably neceſſary to render Ruſſia a flouriſhing ſtate; but this is not the only thing required. To inſure the continuance of her proſperity, ſome ſtability muſt be given to the order of the ſucceſſion. The crown of Ruſſia was long hereditary; Peter I. made it patrimonial; and it became elective at the laſt revolution. But every nation would wiſh to know upon what right its government is eſtabliſhed; and the claim that has the greateſt effect upon the people is birthright. When this evident mark of ſucceſſion is removed from the eyes of the multitude, univerſal revolt and diſſention prevail.

BUT it is not enough to give the people a ſovereign whom they cannot refuſe to acknow-

ledge, that ſovereign muſt make them happy; and this can never be done in Ruſſia, till the form of government is changed.

CIVIL ſlavery is the condition of every ſubject in the empire, who is not noble: they are all at the diſpoſal of their barbarous maſters, as cattle are in other countries. Amongſt theſe ſlaves, none are ſo ill uſed as thoſe who till the ground; thoſe valuable men, whoſe eaſe, happineſs, and freedom have been celebrated with ſuch enthuſiaſm in happier climates.

POLITICAL ſlavery is the lot of the whole nation, ſince the ſovereigns have eſtabliſhed arbitrary power. Among the ſubjects who are conſidered as free, not one can be morally certain of the ſafety of his perſon, the property of his fortune, or even of his liberty, which may at any time be taken away, except in ſome caſes previouſly determined by law.

EUROPE has long been entertained with the project of a code of laws preparing for Ruſſia. The great princeſs, who now governs that empire, well knew, that the people themſelves muſt approve the laws they are to obey, that they may reverence and value them as their own work; and thus addreſſed the deputies from all the cities of her vaſt empire: *My children, conſider well with me the intereſts of the nation; let us together draw up a body of laws, which may eſtabliſh public felicity upon a permanent baſis.* But what are laws without magiſtates? What are magiſtrates, whoſe ſentence the deſpot may reverſe

according

according to his own caprice, and even punifh them for paffing it?

UNDER fuch a government, no tie can fubfift between the members and their head. If he is always formidable to them, they are no lefs fo to him. The ftrength he exerts to oppref́s them, is no other than their own united ftrength turned againft themfelves. Defpair, or a nobler fentiment, may every moment turn it againft him.

THE refpect due to the memory of fo great a man as Peter I. ought not to prevent us from declaring that his talents did not enable him at one view to difcover every requifite neceffary to form a well conftituted ftate. He was naturally a man of genius, and had been infpired with a love of glory. This paffion made him active, patient, affiduous, indefatigable, and capable of conquering every difficulty which nature, ignorance, cuftom or obftinacy could oppofe to prevent the fuccefs of his enterprizes. With thefe virtues, and the foreign aids he called in, he fucceeded in eftablifhing an army, a fleet, and a fea-port. He made feveral regulations neceffary for the profecution of his great projects; but though he has been generally extolled as a law-giver, he only enacted two or three laws, and thofe bear a ftamp of a favage difpofition. He never proceeded fo far as to combine the happinefs of his people with his own perfonal greatnefs. After his noble inftitutions, his people were as wretched as ever, and ftill groaned under poverty, flavery, and oppreffion.

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He never relaxed in any one inftance his arbitrary power, but rather made it more oppreffive; and bequeathed to his fucceffors that deteftable and pernicious idea, that the fubjects are nothing, and that the fovereign is all.

SINCE his death, it has been repeatedly afferted that the nation was not yet fufficiently enlightened to receive any benefit from being made free. But let flattering courtiers and falfe minifters learn, that liberty is the birthright of all men; that every well regulated fociety ought to be directed to the general good; and that it is power obtained by unlawful means which has deprived the greateft part of the globe of this natural advantage.

CATHERINE, who feems to have afcended the throne with an ambition for great actions, begins to be fenfible, that ravages committed in the deferts of Moldavia, and in fome defencelefs iflands, bought with the lives of two or three hundred thoufand men, will not endear her name to pofterity. She is labouring to inftil notions of liberty into a people ftupified by flavery; but it is doubtful whether fhe will fucceed with the prefent generation.

WITH regard to the next, perhaps, the beft method would be, to chufe out one of the moft fertile provinces of the empire, to erect habitations there, and to fupply them with all the implements of hufbandry, and to allot a portion of land to each houfe. It would then be proper to invite free men from civilized countries, to give them the entire property of the houfes and

and lands prepared for them, to ſecure to them a ſubſiſtence for three years, and to have them governed by a chief who has no property in the country. A toleration ſhould be granted to all religions, and conſequently private and domeſtic worſhip ſhould be allowed, but no public form of worſhip be eſtabliſhed.

FROM thence the ſeeds of liberty would ſpread all over the empire: the adjacent countries would ſee the happineſs of theſe coloniſts, and wiſh to be as happy as them. Were I to be caſt among ſavages, I would not bid them build huts to ſhelter them from the inclemency of the weather; they would only laugh at me; but I would build one myſelf. When the ſevere ſeaſon came on, I ſhould enjoy the benefit of my foreſight; the ſavage would ſee it, and next year he would imitate me. It is the ſame with an enſlaved nation; we are not to bid them be free, but we are to lay before their eyes the ſweets of liberty, and they will wiſh for them.

I WOULD by no means impoſe upon my coloniſts the burden of the firſt expences I had incurred on their account; much leſs would I entail the pretended debt upon their offspring. This would be falſe and inhuman policy. Is not a ſtate ſufficiently rewarded by a man of twenty, twenty-five or thirty years of age, who voluntarily devotes his perſon, his ſtrength, his talents and his life to the ſervice of the public? Muſt he pay a rent likewiſe for the preſent he makes? When he becomes opulent, he may be conſidered as

as a ſubject, but not till the third or fourth generation, if the project is meant to ſucceed, and if the people are to be brought to that condition, the advantages of which they have had time to be acquainted with.

In this new arrangement, where the intereſts of the monarch will be blended with thoſe of the ſubject, in order to ſtrengthen Ruſſia, ſhe muſt aim leſs at glory, and ſacrifice the influence ſhe has aſſumed over the general affairs of Europe. Peterſburg, which has improperly been made a capital, muſt be reduced to a meer commercial ſtaple; and the ſeat of government tranſferred to the heart of the empire. It is from ſuch a center of dominion, that a wiſe ſovereign, acquainted with the wants and reſources of his people, will effectually labour to unite the detached parts of that large empire. From the ſuppreſſion of every kind of ſlavery, will ſpring up a middle ſtate among the people, without which, neither arts, manners, nor learning, ever exiſted in any nation.

Till this is accompliſhed, the court of Ruſſia will endeavour in vain to enlighten the nation, by inviting famous men from all countries. Thoſe exotics will periſh there, as foreign plants do in our green-houſes. In vain will they erect ſchools and academies at Peterſburg; in vain will they ſend pupils to Paris and to Rome, to be trained up under the beſt maſters. Thoſe young men, on their return from their travels, will be forced to neglect their talents, and embrace an inferior

inferior ſtation to procure a ſubſiſtence. In all undertakings, much depends upon the firſt ſteps we take; and the firſt ſtep is certainly to encourage mechanic arts, and the lower claſſes of men. If we learn to till the ground, to dreſs ſkins, to manufacture our wool, we ſhall ſoon ſee wealthy families ſpring up. From theſe will ariſe children, who, not chuſing to follow the laborious profeſſions of their fathers, will begin to think, to converſe, to write, and to imitate nature; and then we ſhall have philoſophers, orators, poets, painters, and ſtatuaries. Their productions will be ſought after by rich men, and they will purchaſe them. As long as men are in want they will work, and continue their labour till their wants are ſatisfied. Then they become indolent, and unable to employ their time; and thus the finer arts are in all places the offspring of genius and indolence, for men fly to them when they have no other reſources.

If we attend to the progreſs of ſociety, we ſhall find huſbandmen plundered by robbers; theſe huſbandmen ſelect a few from among themſelves to oppoſe the robbers, and thus they commence ſoldiers. Whilſt ſome are reaping, and the reſt upon guard, ſome perſons looking on ſay to the labourers and ſoldiers, you ſeem to be hard at work; if you that are huſbandmen will feed us, and you that are ſoldiers will defend us, we will beguile your labours with our ſongs and dances. Hence the origin of the troubadour, or bard, and of the man of ſcience. In proceſs of time, the latter is ſometimes joined with

with the chief againſt the people, and ſings the praiſes of tyranny; ſometimes with the people againſt the tyrant, and then he ſings the praiſes of liberty. Which ever part he takes, he becomes in time a citizen of conſequence.

LET us attend to the uſual progreſs of nature, and indeed it would be in vain to depart from it. We ſhall find all our efforts ineffectual, and every thing tending to decay around us; we ſhall be nearly in the ſame barbarous ſtate, from which we endeavoured to extricate ourſelves; nor ſhall we be able to effect this, till ſome events occaſion an imperfect police to be eſtabliſhed, whoſe progreſs at moſt can only be accelerated by foreign aſſiſtance. This is all we can reaſonably expect, and we muſt continue to cultivate our land.

IN this we ſhall find another advantage, which is, that the arts and ſciences of our own growth will gradually advance towards perfection, and we ſhall be originals; whereas, if we copy foreign models, we ſhall be ignorant of the cauſe of their perfection, and we ſhall never be any thing more than imperfect imitators.

THE picture we have here drawn of Ruſſia, may be thought to be an improper digreſſion; but, perhaps, this is the time to form a right eſtimate of a power, which for ſome years paſt has acted ſo conſpicuous and diſtinguiſhed a part. Let us now inquire into the connections other European nations have formed with China.

Connections of the Europeans with China. State of that empire with reſpect to its trade.

INDUSTRY prevails among the Chineſe more than among any other people in the world; perhaps,

haps, indeed, it is the only country in which no idle person can be found. Though the art of printing is known there, and general education carefully attended to, yet the Chinese cannot shew either a capital building, or a beautiful statue, or any elegant compositions in poetry, or prose; they have no music, nor painting; nor have they any of that kind of knowledge, which a man of reflection, and even unconnected with society, might by his own industry carry to a great degree of perfection. As their customs allow of no emigration, and as the empire is extremely populous, their labours are confined to the necessaries of life. More profit attends the invention of the most trifling useful art, than is derived from the most sublime discovery which is only an exertion of genius. A man, who can turn the cuttings of gauze to some use, is more esteemed than one who can solve the most difficult problem. In this country it is a question still more frequently asked than amongst ourselves, *What is the use of this?* The apprehension of a scarcity fills the mind of every citizen with anxiety: they all exert their utmost endeavours, and lose no time in endeavouring to prevent it. Private interest is the secret or open spring of all the actions of the Chinese. They must therefore necessarily be addicted to lying, fraud, and theft; and must be mean, selfish, and covetous.

AN European, who buys silks at Canton, is cheated in the quantity, quality, and price. The goods are carried on board; where the dishonesty of the Chinese merchant is soon detected. When he

he comes for his money, the European tells him: Chineſe, thou haſt cheated me. That may be, replies the Chineſe, but you muſt pay. But, ſays the European, thou art a rogue, a ſcoundrel, a wretch. European, anſwers the Chineſe, that may be, but I muſt be paid. The European pays, the Chineſe takes his money, and ſays at parting, What has thy anger availed thee? What advantage haſt thou obtained by thy abuſe of me? Would it not have been much better to have paid at once, and have been ſilent? Where-ever men are hardened to inſults, and are not aſhamed of diſhoneſty, the empire may be very well governed, but the morals of the people muſt be very bad.

THIS diſpoſition for gain made the Chineſe renounce the uſe of gold and ſilver coin in their inland trade. They were forced to this by the great increaſe of coiners, and were reduced to the neceſſity of uſing only copper money.

COPPER becoming ſcarce, though hiſtory has not informed us by what means, thoſe ſhells were afterwards brought into uſe, ſo well known by the name of cowries. The government having obſerved that the people grew diſſatisfied with ſo brittle a commodity in lieu of coin, ordered that all copper veſſels in the empire ſhould be brought to the mint. This ill judged expedient proving inſufficient to anſwer the demands of the public, about four hundred temples of the god Fo were ordered to be demoliſhed, and all his idols melted down. After this, the court paid the magiſtrates and the army, partly in copper, and

and partly in paper currency. The people were ſo exaſperated at theſe dangerous innovations, that the government was obliged to drop them. From that time, which was three hundred years ago, copper coin is the only legal money.

NOTWITHSTANDING the ſelf-intereſted diſpoſition of the Chineſe, their foreign connections were for a long time but ſmall. Their reſerved behaviour with other people proceeded from the contempt they had for them. They grew deſirous, however, of frequenting the neighbouring ports; and the Tartar government, leſs ſolicitous to preſerve the antient manners than the former government was, favoured this means of increaſing the wealth of the nation. Voyages were openly undertaken, which before were only tolerated by the intereſted governors of the maritime provinces. A people ſo famed for their wiſdom, could not fail of meeting with a favourable reception whereever they went. They took advantage of the high opinion other nations entertained of their taſte, to recommend the commodities they had to diſpoſe of, and their activity exerted itſelf on the continent as well as by ſea.

CHINA at preſent trades with Corea, which is ſuppoſed to have been originally peopled with Tartars. It has certainly often been conquered by them, and has been ſometimes ſubject to, ſometimes independent of, the Chineſe; to whom it now pays tribute. Here they carry china ware, tea, and ſilks; and in return bring home hemp and cotton, and an ordinary ſort of ginſeng.

THE Tartars, who may be confidered as foreigners, purchafe of the Chinefe woollen ftuffs, rice, tea, tobacco, for which they give them fheep, oxen, furs, and chiefly ginfeng. This fhrub grows only upon the higheft mountains, in the thickeft forefts, and about craggy rocks. The ftem is fomewhat hairy, ftrait, round, and of a deep red, except towards the bottom, where it becomes whitifh. It grows to the height of about eighteen inches. Towards the top, it throws out branches which bear oblong leaves, that are fmall, woolly, jagged, of a dark green on the upper fide, and whitifh and gloffy on the back. The age of the fhrub is known by the fhoots, and its value increafes in proportion to its age. The virtues of the ginfeng are many, but it is generally allowed to be a ftrengthener of the ftomach, and a purifier of the blood. The Chinefe are fo fond of it, that they never think they can pay too dear for it. The government fends out ten thoufand Tartar foldiers every year to gather this plant, and every one is obliged to bring two ounces of the beft ginfeng gratis, and for the reft they are paid its weight in filver. Private perfons are not allowed to gather it. This odious prohibition does not prevent them. If they did not break this unjuft law, they would not be able to pay for the commodities they buy in the empire, and confequently muft fubmit to the want of them.

WE have already taken notice of the trade of China with the Ruffians. At prefent it is of little confequence, but it may and muft become confiderable.

THE

THE trade China carries on with the inhabitants of less Bucharia consists only in exchanging its tea, tobacco, and woollen cloth for the gold dust these people find in their streams, when the snow begins to melt. If ever those savages learn to work the mines that their mountains abound with, their connections, which are now so few, will soon increase, and it is impossible to determine how far they may be extended.

THE empire of China is parted from the Mogul dominions and other parts of India, by sands, mountains, and rocks, which prevent all communication; their inland trade is, therefore, so contracted, that it does not exceed eight or nine millions *. That which they carry on by sea is more considerable.

IT is supported by their silks, their tea, their china, and some articles of less consequence. Japan pays the Chinese in copper and gold; the Philippine islands, with piastres; Batavia, with pepper and other spices; Siam, with woods for dying, and with varnish; Tonquin, with silk; and Cochinchina, with sugar and gold. All these several articles together may amount to thirty millions †, and employ a hundred and fifty vessels. The Chinese get at least cent. per cent. upon them, of which Cochinchina pays half. Their correspondents in most of the towns they trade with, are descendents of their own countrymen who fled from China, when the Tartars made themselves masters of it.

* On an average, about 372,000l. † 1,312,500l.

BOOK V.

THE trade of China, which is not carried on to the north beyond Japan, nor to the eaſt beyond the ſtreights of Malacca and of Sunda, would probably have been extended, if the Chineſe ſhipbuilders had not been ſo wedded to their old cuſtoms, and had condeſcended to receive inſtruction from the Europeans.

WHEN the Europeans firſt appeared upon the coaſts of China, they were admitted equally into all the ports. Their extreme familiarity with the women, their haughtineſs with the men, and repeated acts of inſult and indiſcretion, ſoon deprived them of that privilege; and now they are only ſuffered to put in at Canton, the ſouthermoſt harbour of the empire.

THE city of Canton is ſituated on the banks of the Tigris, a large river, which on one part communicates with the remoteſt provinces by means of ſeveral canals, and on the other admits the largeſt ſhips to come up to its walls. Formerly the French ſhips were to be ſeen there with the Chineſe veſſels, but now all European ſhips are obliged to anchor at Hoaung-pon, four leagues from the city. It is not clear, whether the Chineſe were induced to take this precaution from the fear of being ſurpriſed, or whether it was a contrivance of men in power for their own private intereſt. The miſtruſtful and rapacious diſpoſition of the Chineſe authoriſes both theſe conjectures.

THIS regulation did not affect the ſailors themſelves; they ſtill enjoyed in Canton all the freedom that is conſiſtent with public tranquillity. They were naturally inclined to make an improper

uſe

ufe of this indulgence, and they foon grew tired of the circumfpection which is requifite under a government fo much addicted to ceremony. They were punifhed for their imprudence, and forbidden all accefs to men in power. The magiftrate, wearied out with their perpetual complaints, would no longer hear them, but through the channel of interpreters who were dependent on the Chinefe merchants. All Europeans were ordered to refide in one particular part of the town, that was allotted to them. None were exempted but fuch as could procure a perfon, who would be anfwerable for their good behaviour. The reftraints were made ftill more grievous in 1760. The court being informed by the Englifh, that trade laboured under great difficulties, fent commiffaries from Pekin, who were bribed by the parties accufed. Upon the report made by thefe partial men, all the Europeans were confined in a few houfes, where they could only trade with fuch merchants as had an exclufive privilege. This monopoly has lately been abolifhed, but the other reftraints ftill continue the fame.

THESE mortifications have not induced us to relinquifh the trade to China. We continue to get from thence tea, china, raw filk, manufactured filks, varnifh, paper, and fome other articles.

The Europeans buy tea at China.

THE tea plant is a fhrub about as high as our pomegranate or myrtle. It is propagated by feeds, which are fown in holes three or four inches deep. No part of it is ufed but the leaves; which it bears in abundance at three years old, but a lefs

quantity at ſeven. It is then cut down to the ſtem to obtain the ſhoots, every one of which bears nearly as many leaves as a whole ſhrub.

TEA is cultivated in moſt provinces of China, but is not equally good every where; though care is always taken to place it in a ſouthern aſpect and in valleys. The tea that grows in ſtony ground is far preferable to that which grows in a light ſoil, but the worſt ſort is that which is produced in a clayiſh ground.

THE different degree of perfection in tea does not ariſe merely from the difference of ſoil; but chiefly from the ſeaſon in which it is gathered.

THE tea is gathered in March, when the leaves are yet ſmall, tender and delicate; and this is called imperial tea, becauſe it is chiefly reſerved for the uſe of the court and people of rank. The ſecond time of gathering it is in April; the leaves are then larger and more ſpread, but of leſs quality than the firſt. The laſt and worſt kind of tea is gathered in May. It is all cloſely packed up in cheſts made of a coarſe kind of tin, that the air may not get at it, which would ſpoil its flavour.

TEA is the common drink of the Chineſe; and was not introduced among them through vain caprice. Almoſt throughout the empire, the water is unwholeſome and nauſeous. Of all the methods that were tried to improve it none ſucceeded ſo well as tea. Upon trial it was thought to be endued with many virtues, and extolled as an excellent diſſolvent, a purifier of the blood, a ſtrengthener of the head and ſtomach, and a promoter of digeſtion and perſpiration.

THE

THE high opinion which the Europeans who firſt went into China conceived of its inhabitants, induced them to adopt the high, though, perhaps, exaggerated opinion the Chineſe had of tea. We caught the enthuſiaſm, and it has gone on increaſing in the North of Europe and America, where the air is thick and loaded with vapours.

WHATEVER may be the influence of prejudice in general, yet it muſt be allowed, that tea produces ſome good effects in thoſe countries where the uſe of it is univerſally adopted: but theſe effects cannot be ſo great any where as in China. We know the Chineſe reſerve the beſt tea for themſelves, and adulterate that intended for exportation, by mixing with it other leaves, which reſemble thoſe of tea in ſhape, but may not have the ſame properties. We know too, that, ſince the exportation has been ſo great, they are not ſo curious in the choice of the ſoil, nor ſo careful in the preparing of it. Our manner of uſing it may likewiſe contribute to leſſen its virtues. We drink it too hot and too ſtrong; we put in a great deal of ſugar, frequently perfumes, and ſometimes pernicious liquors. Beſides all this, its being conveyed ſo far by ſea is alone ſufficient to exhauſt moſt of its ſalubrious ſalts.

WE ſhall never be able to determine exactly the virtues of tea, till it is tranſplanted into our own climates. We began to deſpair of ſucceſs, though the experiments had been only made with ſeed, and of a bad ſort too. At laſt a tree has been brought over, the ſtem of which meaſured ſix inches, and it has been put into the hands of Lin-

BOOK V.

næus, the moſt celebrated botaniſt in Europe. He has found means to preſerve it, and thinks he ſhall be able to propagate it in open air, even in Sweden, ſince it thrives in the northern parts of China. It will be a very great advantage to us, if we can cultivate a plant, which can never ſuffer ſo much by change of ſoil, as by growing muſty in the long voyage it muſt undergo in being brought from abroad. It is not long ſince we had as little proſpect of attaining to the art of making porcelain.

The Europeans buy porcelain in China.

SOME years ago there were in the collection of Count Caylus two or three little fragments of a vaſe ſuppoſed to be Egyptian, which being carefully analyſed proved to be unglazed porcelain. If that learned man is not miſtaken, or has not been miſinformed, the making porcelain was known in the flouriſhing days of ancient Egypt. But without ſome more authentic monuments than the allegation of a ſingle fact, we muſt not deprive China of this invention, where the art has been known for a longer time than we can trace.

EGYPT is ſuppoſed by many to have the preeminence in point of antiquity, both in regard to its foundation, and to laws, ſciences, and arts in general, though perhaps China may have as good a claim; nor can it be certainly determined whether theſe two empires are not equally ancient, and have not received all their ſocial inſtitutions from a people inhabiting the vaſt region that divides them? Whether the ſavage inhabitants of the great mountains of Aſia, after wandering about for many ages on the continent that forms the center of

of our hemiſphere, have not inſenſibly diſperſed themſelves towards the coaſts of the ſeas that ſurrounded it, and formed themſelves into ſeparate nations in China, India, Perſia and Egypt? Whether the ſucceſſive floods, which may have happened in that part of the world, may not have incloſed and confined them to thoſe regions full of mountains and deſerts? Theſe conjectures are not foreign to the hiſtory of commerce, which in future times muſt greatly tend to illuſtrate the general hiſtory of the human race, of the ſeveral ſettlements they have formed, of their opinions, and inventions of every kind.

The art of making porcelain is, if not one of the moſt wonderful, at leaſt one of the moſt pleaſing that men have ever diſcovered: it is the neatneſs of luxury, which is preferable to its magnificence.

Porcelain is an earthen ware of the moſt perfect kind. It varies in colour, texture and tranſparency. Tranſparency indeed is not eſſential to it, for there is a great deal of very fine porcelain which has not this quality.

It is uſually covered with white or coloured varniſh. This varniſh is merely a layer of melted glaſs, which muſt never be completely tranſparent. This is ſtiled glazed porcelain, and is properly what we call china; the unglazed is diſtinguiſhed by the name of porcelain biſcuit. This is intrinſically as good as the other, but is neither ſo elegant, ſo bright, nor ſo beautiful.

The word earthen ware is well adapted to porcelain, becauſe, as all other earthen ware, the ſubſtance of it is pure earth, without any alteration from art but the mere diviſion of its parts. No metallic or ſaline ſubſtance whatever muſt enter into its compoſition, not even in the glazing, which muſt be made of ſubſtances nearly, if not altogether, as ſimple.

The beſt porcelain, and commonly the cloſeſt, is that which is made of the ſimpleſt materials, ſuch as a vitrifiable ſtone, and a pure and white clay. On this laſt ſubſtance depend the cloſeneſs and compactneſs of porcelain, and indeed of earthen ware in general.

The connoiſſeurs divide the china that comes from Aſia into ſix claſſes; the trouted china, the old white, the japan, the Chineſe, the Chineſe japan, and the Indian. Theſe ſeveral appellations rather denote a difference that ſtrikes the eye than a real diſtinction.

The trouted china, which no doubt is called ſo from the reſemblance it bears to the ſcales of a trout, ſeems to be the moſt ancient, and ſavours moſt of the infancy of the art. It has two imperfections. The paſte is always very brown, and the ſurface appears full of cracks. Theſe cracks are not only in the glazing, but in the porcelain itſelf; and therefore this ſort has but a ſmall degree of tranſparency, does not ſound well, is very brittle, and bears the fire better than any other. To hide theſe cracks, it is painted with a variety of colours: in this kind of ornament conſiſts its only value. The facility with which Count Lauragais has

imitated

imitated it, has convinced us that it is only an imperfect ſort of porcelain.

THE old white is certainly very beautiful, whether we conſider only the glazing, or examine the biſcuit. This is very valuable porcelain, but very ſcarce, and but little uſed. The paſte of it ſeems to be extremely ſhort, and fit only for ſmall vaſes, figures, and other ornamental china. It is ſold in trade for japan, though it is certain that ſome very fine of the ſame kind is made in China. It is of two different hues; the one a perfect cream colour, the other a blueiſh white, which makes it look more tranſparent. The glazing ſeems to be more incorporated into this laſt. This ſort has been attempted at St. Cloud, and ſome pieces have been produced that looked very beautiful; but thoſe who have narrowly examined them have ſaid they were no better than frit or lead, and would not bear a compariſon.

THE japan is not ſo eaſily diſtinguiſhed as moſt people imagine, from the fineſt of the ſort made in China. A connoiſſeur whom we have conſulted, pretends that in general the glazing of the true japan is whiter, and has leſs of the blueiſh caſt than the porcelain of China, that the ornaments are laid on with leſs profuſion, that the blue is brighter, and the patterns and flowers not ſo whimſical, and better copied from nature. His opinion ſeems to be confirmed by the teſtimony of ſome writers, who tell us, that the Chineſe who trade to Japan bring home ſome pieces of china that make more ſhew than their own, but are not ſo ſolid; and that they ſerve to ornament their apartments,

apartments, but they never uſe them, becauſe they will not bear the fire well. All china glazed with coloured varniſh, whether ſea green, blueiſh or purple, he believes to be Chineſe. All the japan brought into Europe comes from the Dutch, who are the only Europeans that are ſuffered to come into that empire. Poſſibly they may have picked it out of the porcelains brought hither every year by the Chineſe, or they may have purchaſed it at Canton. In either caſe, the diſtinction between the porcelain of Japan and that of China would not be founded on fact, but merely on prejudice. From this opinion it is plain, that what is ſold here for japan is very fine china.

THERE is leſs doubt about what we call porcelain of China. The glazing has a bluer caſt than that of Japan, it is more highly coloured, and the patterns are more whimſical. The paſte is in general whiter and more compact; the grain finer and cloſer, and the china thinner. Amongſt the ſeveral ſorts made in China, there is one that is very ancient; it is painted of a deep blue, a beautiful red, or a green like verdigreaſe, and is very coarſe, very thick, and very heavy. Some of this is trouted, and the grain is often dry and brown. That which is not trouted has a clear ſound, but both want tranſparency. It is ſold for old china, and the fineſt pieces are ſuppoſed to come from Japan. It was originally a better ſort of earthen ware, rather than a true porcelain; time and experience may have improved it. It is grown more tranſparent, and the colours being more carefully laid on, they look brighter. The eſſential difference

between

between this and other china is, that this is made of a ſhorter paſte, and is very hard and ſolid. The pieces of this china have always at the bottom the marks of three or four ſupporters, which were put to prevent its giving way in baking. By this contrivance, the Chineſe have ſucceeded in making very large pieces of porcelain. Thoſe that are not of this ſort, and which is called modern china, are of a longer paſte and finer grain, and are higher glazed, whiter and clearer. They ſeldom have the marks of the ſupporters, and their tranſparency has nothing glaſſy in it. All that is made with this paſte is eaſily turned, ſo that it is viſible the workman's hand is glided over it, as over a fine ſmooth clay. There is an infinite variety of this ſort of china, both as to form, colouring, workmanſhip and price.

A FIFTH ſort is what we call chineſe japan, becauſe it unites the ornaments of the porcelain which is thought to come from Japan, with thoſe that are more in the Chineſe taſte. Among this kind of porcelain, there is ſome that is ornamented with a very fine blue, with white ſcrolls. The glazing of this kind is remarkable for being a true white enamel, whereas that of the other ſorts is half tranſparent; for the Chineſe glazing is never entirely ſo.

THE colours in general are laid on in the ſame manner, both on the true china and the imitations of it. The firſt and moſt laſting of them is the blue that is extracted from ſmalt, which is nothing more than the calx of cobalt. This colour is commonly laid on before the pieces are either

either glazed or baked, ſo that the glazing that is put on afterwards ſerves as a diſſolvent. All the other colours, and even the blue that enters into the compoſition on the pallet, are laid on over the glazing, and muſt firſt be mixed up and ground with a ſaline ſubſtance or calx of lead, that favours their ingreſs into the glazing. It is a pretty common thing for the Chineſe to colour the whole of the glazing; the colour is then laid on neither above nor below it, but is incorporated into the glazing itſelf. Some very extraordinary fanciful ornaments are made in this manner. In whatever way the colours are applied, they are commonly extracted from cobalt, gold, iron, mineral earths, and copper. That which is extracted from copper is a very delicate colour, and requires great care in the preparation.

All the ſorts of porcelain we have deſcribed are made at King-to-ching, an immenſe town in the province of Kiamſi. This manufacture employs five hundred furnaces and a million of men. It has been attempted to be made at Pekin and other places of the empire, but it has not ſucceeded any where, though the ſame workmen have been employed, and the ſame materials made uſe of; ſo that this branch of induſtry is entirely given up, except in the neighbourhood of Canton, where the ſort of porcelain is made that is known amongſt us by the name of India china. The paſte is long and yielding; but in general the colours, eſpecially the blue, and the red of mars, are far inferior to what comes from Japan and the interior parts of China. All the colours, except the

the blue, ftand up in lumps, and are very badly laid on. This is the only china that has purple, which has given rife to that abfurd notion of its being painted in Holland. Moft of the cups, and plates, and other veffels our merchants bring home are of this manufacture, which is lefs efteemed in China than our delft is in Europe.

ATTEMPTS have been made to introduce this art into Europe. It has fucceeded beft in Saxony. The porcelain that comes from this country is real porcelain, and probably made with very fimple materials, though prepared and mixed with more art than in Afia. This curious preparation, together with the fcarcity of the materials, is no doubt what makes the Drefden porcelain fo dear. As there is but one fort of pafte that comes from that manufacture, it has been furmifed, and not without fome degree of probability, that the Saxons were only in poffeffion of their own fecret, and by no means of the art of making china. What feems to confirm this fufpicion is the great affinity between the Saxon and other German porcelain, which feems to be made upon the fame principle.

HOWEVER this be, it is certain no porcelain is higher glazed, fmoother, better fhaped, more pleafing to the eye, or more folid and durable. It will refift a fierce fire much longer than many of the forts made in China. The colours are finely difpofed, and executed in a mafterly manner; none are fo well adapted to the glazing; they are blended with great exactnefs; they are bright,

without

without being ſhaded and glazed, like thoſe of moſt of the porcelain made at Sevre.

The mention of this place reminds us that we muſt take notice of the porcelain made in France. This, like the Engliſh, is only made with frit, that is, with ſtones that are not fuſible in themſelves, but receive a beginning of fuſion from the mixture of a greater or leſs quantity of ſalt; and accordingly it is more glaſſy, of a looſer texture, and more brittle than any other. That of Sevre, which is by far the worſt of all, and always looks yellowiſh and dirty, which betrays the lead they put into the glazing, has no other merit than what it derives from the excellence of the artiſts that are employed for the patterns and the pencil-ing. Theſe great maſters have diſplayed ſo much taſte in the execution of ſome of the pieces, that they will be the admiration of poſterity; but in itſelf, this ware will never be but an object of taſte, luxury and expence. The ſupporters will always be a principal cauſe of its dearneſs.

All porcelain, when it receives the laſt effect of the fire, is actually in a ſtate that has a tendency to fuſion, is ſoft and pliable, and might be worked like red hot iron. There is none but what will bend and give way when it is in that ſtate. If the pieces, when they are turned, are thicker, or project more on one ſide than another, the ſtrongeſt will infallibly bear away the weakeſt; they will warp to that ſide, and the piece is ſpoiled. This inconvenience is prevented, by propping it up with bits of porcelain made of the ſame paſte, of different ſhapes, which are applied under or to the

parts

parts that project, and are most in danger of being warped. As all porcelain shrinks in baking, the props must also be made of such materials as will yield in the same degree exactly as the paste they are intended to support. As the different pastes do not shrink equally, it follows that the props must be made of the same paste as the piece they support.

THE softer the china is, and the more inclining to vitrification, the more it wants to be propped up. This is the great fault of the Sevre china; the paste is very costly, and frequently more of it is wasted in props, than is employed in making of the piece itself. The necessity of this expensive method produces another inconvenience. The glazing cannot be baked at the same time as the porcelain, which therefore must twice undergo the heat of the furnace. The porcelain made in China, and the best imitations of it, being of a stiffer paste, and less susceptible of vitrification, seldom want any props, and are baked ready glazed. They consequently consume much less paste, are seldom spoiled, and require less time, as well as less fire and trouble.

SOME writers have urged in favour of the superiority of Asiatic china, that it resists fire better than ours; that all European china will melt in that of Saxony, but that the Dresden itself will melt in the foreign china. This assertion is entirely erroneous, if taken in its full extent. Few porcelains of China will stand the fire so well as the Dresden; they spoil and bubble in the same degree of fire which serves to bake that made by

Count

Count Lauragais; but this is a circumſtance of ſo little conſequence, that it ſcarce deſerves attention. Porcelain is not intended to return into the furnace when once it is taken out, nor is it deſigned to bear the action of an intenſe fire.

It is in point of ſolidity that the foreign porcelain truly excels that of Europe; it is by the property it has of heating quicker and with leſs riſque, and of bearing, without danger of being broken, the ſudden effect of cold or boiling hot water; by the facility with which it is moulded and baked, which is an ineſtimable advantage, as pieces of all ſizes can be made with great eaſe, as it can be baked without any riſque, be ſold at a lower price, be of more general uſe, and conſequently become the object of a more extenſive trade.

Another great advantage of the India porcelain is, that the ſame paſte is very uſeful for making crucibles, and a variety of ſuch veſſels which are conſtantly uſed in the other arts. They not only bear the fire for a longer time, but communicate nothing of their ſubſtance to what is melted in them. This ſubſtance is ſo pure, white, compact and hard, that it will ſcarce melt at all, and acquires no kind of tinge.

France is at the eve of enjoying all theſe advantages. It is certain that Count Lauragais, who has long been in ſearch of the ſecret of the Chineſe, has at laſt made ſome china that is very like it. His materials have the ſame properties, and if they are not exactly the ſame, at leaſt they are a ſpecies of the ſame kind. Like the Chineſe, he can make his paſte long or ſhort, and follow either

ther his own or ſome other proceſs. His porcelain is not inferior to that of the Chineſe in point of pliableneſs, and is ſuperior to it in point of glazing; perhaps too in the facility with which it takes the colours. If it can be improved to ſuch a degree as to have as fine and as white a grain, we may diſpenſe with the porcelain of China; but we cannot ſo well do without their ſilk.

The Europeans buy ſilks in China.

THE annals of this empire aſcribe the diſcovery of ſilk to one of the wives of the emperor Ho-angti. The empreſſes amuſed themſelves with breeding up ſilk-worms, drawing the ſilk, and working it. It is even ſaid, that to the interior part of the palace there was a piece of ground ſet apart for the culture of mulberry-trees. The empreſs, attended by the chief ladies of her court, went in perſon and gathered the leaves of ſome of the branches that were brought down ſo as to be within her reach. So prudent an inſtance of policy promoted this branch of induſtry to ſuch a degree, that the Chineſe, who before were only clothed in ſkins, ſoon appeared dreſſed in ſilk. The ſilks, that were now grown very common, were ſoon brought to great perfection. The Chineſe were indebted for this laſt advantage to the writings of ſome ingenious men, and even of ſome miniſters, who did not think it beneath them to attend to this new art. All China learnt from their theory every thing belonging to it.

THE art of breeding up ſilk-worms, and of ſpinning and weaving their ſilk, extended from China to India and Perſia, where it made no very rapid progreſs; if it had, Rome would not, at

 the

the end of the third century, have given a pound of gold for a pound of ſilk. Greece having adopted this art in the eighth century, ſilks became a little more known, but did not grow common. They were long conſidered as an article of luxury, and reſerved for perſons in the moſt eminent ſtations, and for the greateſt ſolemnities. At laſt Roger, king of Sicily, ſent for manufacturers from Athens, and the culture of the mulberry tree ſoon paſſed from that iſland to the neighbouring continent. Other countries in Europe wiſhed to partake of an advantage from which Italy derived ſo much wealth, and after ſome fruitleſs attempts they attained it. However, from the nature of the climate, or ſome other cauſe, it has not equally ſucceeded in every place.

The ſilks of Naples, Sicily, and Reggio, whether in organzin, or in tram, are all ordinary ſilks; but they are uſeful, and even neceſſary for brocades, for embroidery, and for all works that require ſtrong ſilk.

The other Italian ſilks, thoſe of Novi, Venice, Tuſcany, Milan, Montſerrat, Bergamo, and Piedmont, are uſed in organzin for the warp, though they are not all equally fine and good. The Bologna ſilks were for a long time preferred to any other. But ſince thoſe of Piedmont have been improved, they juſtly claim the preference, as being the ſmootheſt, the fineſt, and the lighteſt. Thoſe of Bergamo come neareſt to them.

Though the Spaniſh ſilks in general are very fine, thoſe of Valencia are by far the beſt. They are all fit for any ſort of manufacture; the only fault

fault they have, is being rather too oily, which is a great detriment to the dye.

The French silks excel most others in Europe, and are inferior to none but those of Piedmont and Bergamo in point of lightness. Besides, they are brighter coloured than those of Piedmont; and more even and stronger than those of Bergamo. Some years ago, France produced six thousand quintals of silk, which sold from fifteen to twenty-one livres * a pound consisting of fourteen ounces. At an average of eighteen livres †, it produced an income of ten millions ‡. When the new plantations are improved so much as to produce what is expected from them, France will be eased of the sum she pays to foreign powers for this article, which is still a considerable one.

The variety of silk produced in Europe, has not yet enabled us to dispense with that of the Chinese. Though in general it is uneven and heavy, it will always be in request for its whiteness. It is generally thought to derive this advantage from nature; but it is more probable, that, when the Chinese draw the silk, they put some ingredient into the bason, that has the property of expelling all heterogeneous substances, or at least the coarsest parts of them. The little waste there is in this silk compared to any other, when it is boiled for dying, seems to give great weight to this conjecture.

However this be, the Chinese silk is so far superior to any other in whiteness, that it is the

* From about 13s. to about 18s. 6d. † 15s. 9d. ‡ 437,500 l.

only one which can be ufed for blondes and gauzes: All our endeavours to fubftitute our own in the blonde manufactures have been fruitlefs, whether we have made ufe of prepared or unprepared filk. The attempts in gauze have not been quite fo unfuccefsful. The whiteft French and Italian filks have been tried, and feemed to anfwer tolerably well, but neither the colour nor the dreffing were fo perfect as in the gauzes made with the Chinefe filk.

In the laft century, the Europeans imported very little filk from China. The French filk fucceeded very well for black and coloured gauze, and for cat-gut that was then in fafhion. The tafte, that has prevailed thefe forty years paft, and more efpecially the laft twenty-five, for white gauzes and blondes, has gradually increafed the demand for this production of the Eaft. Of late it has amounted to eighty thoufand weight a year, of which France has always taken near three-fourths. This importation has increafed to fuch a degree, that in 1766 the Englifh alone imported a hundred and four thoufand weight: as it could not be all confumed in gauze and blonde, the manufacturers have ufed it for tabbies and hofe. The ftockings made of this filk are of a beautiful white that never changes, but are not near fo fine as others.

Besides this filk fo remarkable for its whitenefs, which comes chiefly from the province of Tche-Kiang, and is known in Europe by the name of Nanking filk, which is the place where moft of it is prepared, China produces ordinary

filks,

ſilks, which we call Canton. As theſe are only fit for ſome kinds of tram, and are as dear as our own, which anſwer the ſame purpoſe, very few are imported. What the Engliſh and Dutch bring home does not exceed five or ſix thouſand pieces. The manufactured ſilks are a much more conſiderable article.

The Chineſe are not leſs ingenious in weaving their ſilks than in preparing them. This does not extend to thoſe that are mixed with gold and ſilver. Their manufacturers have never known how to draw out theſe metals into thread, and the whole of their art conſiſts in rolling their ſilks upon gilt paper, or putting the paper upon them after they are woven. Both methods are equally bad.

Though, in general, men are more apt to be pleaſed with novelty than with true excellence, yet the Europeans have never been tempted to buy theſe ſtuffs. They have been equally diſguſted at the aukwardneſs of the patterns; which exhibit nothing but diſtorted figures, and unmeaning groupes; they diſcover no taſte in the diſpoſition of the lights and ſhades, nor any of that elegance and eaſe that appears in the works of our good artiſts. There is a ſtiffneſs and a want of freedom in all they do, that is diſpleaſing to perſons of any taſte; all ſavours of their particular turn of mind, which is deſtitute of vivacity and elevation.

The only thing that makes us overlook the defects in thoſe works that repreſent flowers, birds, or trees, is that none of thoſe objects are raiſed.

The figures are painted upon the ſilk itſelf with indelible colours; and yet the deception is ſo perfect, that all theſe objects appear to be brocaded or embroidered.

As for their plain ſilks, they want no recommendation, for they are perfect in their kind; and ſo are their colours, eſpecially the green and the red. The white of their damaſks has ſomething extremely pleaſing. The Chineſe make them only with the ſilk of Tche-Kiang. They thoroughly boil the warp, as we do, but only half boil the woof. This method gives the damaſk more ſubſtance and ſtiffneſs. It has a reddiſh caſt without being yellow, which is very pleaſing, and has not that glare that dazzles the ſight. This agreeable white is likewiſe obſerved in the Chineſe varniſh.

The Europeans buy lacquered ware, and paper, in China.

THIS varniſh is a kind of liquid gum, of a reddiſh colour. The Japan varniſh is preferable to that of Tonquin and Siam, and theſe are much better than that of Cambodia. The Chineſe buy it at all theſe markets, becauſe from their provinces they cannot procure a ſufficient quantity for their own conſumption. The tree that yields the gum from which the varniſh is made is called Tſi-chu, and reſembles the aſh, both in the bark and the leaf. It never grows above fifteen feet, and the ſtem commonly meaſures two feet and a half in circumference. It bears neither flowers nor fruit, but is propagated in the following manner.

IN the ſpring, when the ſap of the Tſi-chu begins to form, the ſtrongeſt ſhoot that grows out of

of the ſtem is choſen, and covered all over with yellow earth; then it is wrapped round with a mat, to protect it from the effect of the air. If the ſprig ſoon takes root, it is cut and planted in autumn; but if it proves backward, this is deferred to another opportunity. At whatever ſeaſon it is done, the young plant muſt be preſerved from the ants, which is effected by filling the hole with aſhes.

THE Tſi-chu yields no varniſh till it is ſeven or eight years old, and then only in ſummer. It diſtils from inciſions made at different diſtances in the bark, and is received in a ſhell fixed at each inciſion. It is reckoned a good produce, when twenty pounds of varniſh are collected in one night out of a thouſand trees. This gum is ſo noxious, that thoſe who uſe it are obliged to take conſtant precautions to guard againſt its malignancy. The artiſts rub their hands and faces with rape oil before they begin, and after they have done their work, and wear a maſk, gloves, boots, and a breaſt plate.

THERE are two ways of uſing the varniſh. The firſt is to rub the wood with a particular ſort of oil uſed in China; and as ſoon as it is dry, the varniſh is laid on. It is ſo tranſparent that the veins of the wood appear tinged through it, if it is laid on but two or three times. If it is repeatedly laid on, it may be brought to ſhine like a looking glaſs. The other way is more complicated. A kind of paſteboard is glued by the help of maſtick over the wood. On this ſmooth and ſolid ground are ſpread ſeveral layers of varniſh. It muſt be

neither too thick nor too liquid; and in this juſt medium the ſkill of the artiſt principally conſiſts.

WHICHEVER way the varniſh is laid on, it effectually preſerves the wood from decaying. The worm can ſcarce penetrate it, and the damp does not affect it in the leaſt; and with a little care this varniſh leaves no ſmell behind.

THIS varniſh is as pleaſing to the eye as it is durable. It may be applied on gold and ſilver, and mixed with all ſorts of colours. Upon it are painted figures, landſcapes, palaces, hunting parties, and battles; in ſhort, it would not be deficient in any reſpect, if it were not generally ſpoiled by the badneſs of the Chineſe drawings.

NOTWITHSTANDING this defect, the making of this ware requires much pains and conſtant attention. The varniſh muſt be laid on nine or ten times at leaſt, and cannot be ſpread too thin. There muſt be a ſufficient time allowed between the application of each layer, that it may be ſuffered to dry. A longer time ſtill muſt be allowed between the laſt layer and the poliſhing, painting and gilding. A whole ſummer is hardly ſufficient for all this proceſs at Nanking, from whence the court and the chief cities of the empire are ſupplied. It is carried on with greater expedition at Canton. As there is a great demand of this ware for Europe, and that the Europeans will have it made according to their own plan, and will allow but a ſhort time to complete them, they are uſually finiſhed in too great haſte. The artiſt not having time to give the neceſſary degree of perfection to his work, is ſatisfied if he can but make it pleaſing

to

to the eye. The Chinefe manufacture of paper is not liable to the fame imperfections.

ORIGINALLY, the Chinefe wrote with a fteel bodkin upon wooden tablets, which being faftened together, made a volume. They afterwards traced their characters upon pieces of filk or linen, cut to any length or breadth. At laft, about fixteen hundred years ago, they found out the fecret of making paper.

IT is generally imagined that this paper is made with filk; but whoever is acquainted with the practice of the art muft know, that filk can never be fo divided as to be wrought into a pafte of equal confiftence. The beft Chinefe paper is made with cotton, and would be equal, if not preferable to ours, if it were as durable.

THE ordinary paper, which is not intended for writing, is made of the firft or fecond bark of the mulberry tree, the elm, the cotton tree, but chiefly of the bamboo. Thefe fubftances, after they are become rotten by foaking in muddy water, are buried in lime; then bleached in the fun, and boiled in coppers to a fluid pafte, which is fpread upon hurdles, and hardens into fheets, that meafure ten or twelve feet, or more. This is the paper ufed by the Chinefe for furniture. It has a very pleafing effect from the luftre they give it, and from the variety of fhapes into which they form it.

THOUGH this paper is apt to crack, to be injured by damps, and to be worm-eaten, it is become an article of trade. Europe has borrowed from Afia the idea of furnifhing clofets and making fcreens

BOOK V.

ſcreens with it; but that taſte begins to decline. The Chineſe paper is already diſcarded for that of the Engliſh, the uſe of which will certainly be continued when it has attained a greater degree of perfection. The French begin to imitate this novelty, and in all probability it will be univerſally adopted.

BESIDES the articles already mentioned, the Europeans bring from China, ink, camphire, borax, rhubarb, gum lac, and rattans, a kind of cane that ſerves to make elbow-chairs; and formerly they brought gold from thence.

IN Europe a mark of gold is worth about fourteen marks and a half of ſilver. If there were a country in which it was worth twenty, our merchants would carry gold thither to change it for ſilver. They would bring us back that ſilver to receive gold in exchange, which they would again carry abroad for the ſame purpoſe. This trade would be continued in this manner till the relative value of the two metals came to be much the ſame in both countries. It was upon this principle, that for a long time ſilver was ſent to China to be bartered for gold; by which traffic a profit of 45 per cent. was made. It was never carried on by the charter companies; becauſe the profit they made upon it, however inconſiderable it may appear, was yet much inferior to that obtained upon their own merchandiſe. Their agents, who were not indulged in chuſing what trade they pleaſed, attended to theſe ſpeculations for their own advantage. They purſued this branch of commerce with ſo much aſſiduity, that in a ſhort time

time the returns were not ſufficient to induce them to continue it. Gold is of greater or leſs value at Canton, according to the ſeaſon of the year; its value is higher from the beginning of February to the end of May than through the reſt of the year, when the harbour is full of foreign ſhips. Yet in the moſt favourable ſeaſon no more than eighteen per cent. is to be made of it, which is not a ſufficient inducement for any one to undertake it. The only agents, who have not been ſufferers by the ceſſation of this trade, are thoſe of the French company, who were never allowed to be concerned in it. The directors reſerved that profit for themſelves. Many attempted it; but Caſtanier was the only one who caried on the trade with abilities and ſucceſs. He ſent goods to Mexico; theſe were ſold for piaſtres, which were carried to Acapulco, then to the Philippines, and from thence to China, where they were bartered for gold. That able man by this judicious circulation had opened a track, which it is ſurpriſing that no one has ſince purſued.

All the European nations, which ſail beyond the Cape of Good Hope, go as far as China. The Portugueſe were the firſt who landed there. The Chineſe gave them the town of Macao, which was built upon a barren and rugged ſpot on the point of a little iſland at the mouth of the river of Canton, and with it a territory of about three miles in circumference. They obtained the freedom of the harbour, which is too narrow,

BOOK V.

narrow, but safe and commodious, upon the condition of paying to the empire all the duties to be levied on the ships that should come in; and they purchased the liberty of building fortifications, by engaging to pay a yearly tribute of 37,500 livres*. As long as the court of Lisbon maintained the sovereignty of the Indian seas, this place was a famous mart. It declined in proportion to the power of the Portuguese, and gradually came to nothing. Macao has no longer any connection with the mother country, and fits out no more than three small vessels, one for Timor, and two for Goa. Till 1744, the remains of that once flourishing settlement still enjoyed some kind of independence. The murder of a Chinese determined the viceroy of Canton to apply to his court for a magistrate to instruct and govern the barbarians of Macao; these were the words of his petition. The court sent a Mandarin, who took possession of the town in the name of his master. He scorned to live among foreigners, who are always held in great contempt, and fixed his residence at the distance of a league from the town.

The Dutch met with worse contempt about a century ago. Those republicans, who, notwithstanding the superiority they had gained in the Asiatic seas, had been excluded from China by the intrigues of the Portuguese, at last got access to the ports of that empire. Not content with the precarious footing they had obtained

* 1640l. 12s. 6d.

there,

there, they attempted to erect a fort near Hoaung-pon, under pretence of building a warehouſe. It is ſaid, their deſign was to make themſelves maſters of the navigation of the Tigris, and to give law both to the Chineſe and to foreigners who were deſirous of trading to Canton. Their views were diſcovered too ſoon for their intereſt. They were all maſſacred, and it was a great while before any of their nation could venture to appear again upon the coaſts of China. They were ſeen there again about the year 1730. The firſt ſhips that arrived there came from Java. They brought various commodities of the growth of India in general, and of their own colonies in particular, and bartered them for thoſe of the country. The commanders of theſe veſſels, wholly intent upon pleaſing the council of Batavia, from which they immediately received their orders, and expected their promotion, had nothing in view but to diſpoſe of the merchandiſe they were intruſted with, without attending to the quality of that they received in return. The company ſoon found, that in conſequence of this proceeding they never could ſupport themſelves againſt their competitors. This conſideration determined them to ſend ſhips directly from Europe with money. They touch at Batavia, where they take in ſuch commodities of the country as are fit for China, and return directly into our latitudes, with much better ladings than formerly, but not ſo good as thoſe of the Engliſh.

Of all the nations that have traded to China, the Engliſh have been the moſt conſtant. They had

BOOK V.

had a factory in the island of Chusan, at the time when affairs were chiefly transacted at Emouy. When it was removed to Canton, this factory still continued as before. As their company were required to export woollen cloths, they determined to keep agents constantly at this place to dispose of them. This custom of the English, joined to the great demand for tea in their settlements, made them, towards the end of the last century, masters of almost all the trade carried on between China and Europe. The heavy duties laid by the British government on that foreign production, at last made other nations, and France in particular, sensible of the advantages of this commerce.

FRANCE had formerly a particular company for the trade of China in 1660. A rich merchant of Rouen, named Fermanel, was at the head of the undertaking. He had computed that it could not be well carried on with less than a capital of 220,000 livres *, and the subscriptions amounting only to 140,000 †, occasioned the ill success of the voyage. The aversion naturally entertained for a people who believed that foreigners came among them for no other purpose than to corrupt their morals, and to deprive them of their liberty, was considerably increased by the losses that were sustained. In vain, towards the year 1685 did the Chinese alter their opinion, and consequently their behaviour. The French seldom frequent their ports. The new society,

* 9,625l. † 6,125l.

formed

formed in 1698, was not more active than the former, nor did they ſucceed in this trade, till it came to be united with that of India, and equally divided.

The Danes and the Swedes began to frequent the ports of China about the ſame time, and have acted upon the ſame principle as the French. The Embden company would probably have adopted it likewiſe, had it ſubſiſted long enough.

Sums laid out in purchaſes by the Europeans, in China.

The annual purchaſes made by the Europeans in China, if we compute them by thoſe of the year 1766, amount to 26,754,494 livres *; this ſum, above four-fifths of which is laid out on the ſingle article of tea, has been paid in piaſtres, or in goods carried by twenty-three ſhips. Sweden has furniſhed 1,935,168 livres † in money, and 427,500 ‡ in tin, lead, and other commodities. Denmark, 2,161,630 livres § in money, and 231,000 || in iron, lead, and gun-flints. France, 4,000,000 ** in money, and 400,000 †† in drapery. Holland, 2,735,400 ‡‡ in money, and 44,600 §§ in woollen goods, beſides 4,000,150 |||| in the produce of her colonies. Great Britain, 5,443,566 livres *** in money, 2,000,475 ††† in woollen cloths, and 3,375,000 ‡‡‡ in various articles from different parts of India. All theſe ſums together amount to 26,754,494 livres §§§. We do not include in this calculation 10,000,000 ||||||

* About 1,170,500l.
† 84,663l. 12s.
‡ 18,703l. 2s. 6d.
§ 94,571l. 6s. 3d.
|| 10,106l. 5s.
** 175,000l.
†† 17,500l.
‡‡ 119,673l. 15s.
§§ 1,951l. 5s.
|||| 175,006l. 11s. 3d.
*** About 238,000l.
††† Above 87,500l.
‡‡‡ Above 147,600l.
§§§ About 1,170,500l.
|||||| 437,500l.

in

BOOK V.

in ſpecie, which the Engliſh have carried over and above what we have mentioned, becauſe they were deſtined to pay off the debts that nation had contracted, or to lay in a ſtock to trade upon the intervals between the voyages.

Conjectures concerning the future ſtate of the trade of Europe in China.

It is not eaſy to conjecture what this trade will hereafter be. Though the Chineſe are ſo fond of money, they ſeem more inclined to ſhut their ports againſt the Europeans, than to encourage them to enlarge their trade. As the ſpirit of the Tartars has ſubſided, and the conquerors have imbibed the maxims of the vanquiſhed nation, they have adopted their prejudices, and in particular their averſion and contempt of foreigners. They have diſcovered theſe diſpoſitions, by the humiliating hardſhips they have impoſed upon them, after having treated them with great reſpect. The tranſition is but ſhort from this precarious ſituation to a total expulſion. It may not be far off; and this is the more likely, as there is an active nation who, perhaps, is ſecretly contriving to effect it.

The Dutch are not ignorant that all Europe is grown very fond of ſeveral Chineſe productions. They may readily ſuppoſe, that the impoſſibility of procuring them from the firſt hand would not hinder the conſumption. If all Europeans were excluded from China, the natives would export their own commodities. As their ſhipping is not fit for a long navigation, they would be under a neceſſity of carrying them to Java or to the Philippines, and then we muſt buy them

them of one of the two nations, to whom these colonies belong. The competition of the Spaniards is so inconsiderable, that the Dutch might be certain of engrossing the whole trade. It is hardly possible to suspect these republicans of any thing so base, but it is well known they have been guilty of greater villanies for interests of less consequence.

If the ports of China were once shut, it is probable they would be so for ever. The obstinacy of that nation would never suffer them to retract, and there is no appearance that they could be compelled to it. What measures could be taken against a state at the distance of eight thousand leagues? No government can be so absurd as to imagine, that men, after the fatigues of so long a voyage, would venture to attempt conquests in a country defended by such a number of people, however destitute of courage this nation, which has never tried its strength against the Europeans, may be supposed to be. The only way in which we could distress these people, would be by intercepting their navigation, which is an object they pay little attention to, as it neither affects their subsistence nor their conveniences.

Even this fruitless revenge would be practicable but for a short time. The ships employed in this piratical cruise would be driven from those latitudes one part of the year by the monsoons, and the other part by the storms they call typhons, which are peculiar to the seas of China.

 Having

BOOK V.

HAVING thus explained the manner in which the Europeans have hitherto carried on the East India trade, it will not be improper to examine three questions which naturally arise upon the subject, and have not yet been decided. 1. Whether it is adviseable to continue that trade. 2. Whether large settlements are necessary to carry it on with success. 3. Whether it ought to be left in the hands of charter companies. We shall discuss these points with impartiality, as we have no other concern in the cause, but the interest of mankind.

Whether Europe should continue its trade with India.

WHOEVER considers Europe as forming but one body, the members of which are united in one common interest, or at least in the same kind of interest, will not hesitate to pronounce, whether her connections with Asia are advantageous or not. The India trade evidently enlarges the circle of our enjoyments. It procures us wholesome and agreeable liquors, conveniences of a more refined nature, more splendid furniture, some new pleasures, and a more comfortable existence. Such powerful incentives have had the same influence upon those nations, who from their situation, activity, good fortune in making discoveries, and boldness in enterprizes, can procure these enjoyments for themselves at their very source; as upon those who are unable to acquire them, unless through the channel of the maritime states, whose navigation enabled them to disperse the superfluities of their enjoyments over the whole continent. The Europeans have been

been ſo eager in their purſuit after theſe foreign luxuries, that neither the higheſt duties, the ſtricteſt prohibitions, nor the ſevereſt penalties, have been able to reſtrain it. Every government, after having in vain tried to ſubdue this inclination, which only increaſed by oppoſition, has been forced at laſt to yield to it; though general prejudices, which were ſtrengthened by time and cuſtom, made them conſider this compliance as detrimental to the ſtability of the common good.

BUT the time was come, when it became neceſſary to remove theſe reſtraints. Can it be a matter of doubt, whether it is beneficial to add the enjoyments of foreign climates to thoſe of our own? Univerſal ſociety exiſts as well for the common intereſt of the whole, as by the mutual intereſt of all the individuals that compoſe it. An increaſe of felicity muſt, therefore, reſult from a general intercourſe. Commerce is the exerciſe of that valuable liberty, to which nature has invited all men; which is the ſource of their happineſs, and indeed of their virtues. We may even venture to aſſert, that men are never ſo truly ſenſible of their freedom as they are in a commercial intercourſe; nor is any thing ſo conducive to it as commercial laws: and one particular advantage derived from this circumſtance is, that as trade produces liberty, ſo it contributes to preſerve it.

WE muſt be but little acquainted with man, if we imagine, that in order to make him happy he muſt be debarred from enjoyments. We grant, that the being accuſtomed to want the conveniences

of life leſſens the ſum of our misfortunes; but by diminiſhing our pleaſures in a greater proportion than our pains, we are rather brought to a ſtate of inſenſibility than of happineſs. If nature has given man a heart ſuſceptible of tender impreſſions; if his imagination is for ever involuntarily employed in ſearch of ideal and deluſive objects of happineſs; it is fit that his reſtleſs mind ſhould have an infinite variety of enjoyments to purſue. But let reaſon teach him to be ſatisfied with ſuch things as he can enjoy, and not to be anxious for thoſe that are out of his reach; this is true wiſdom. But to require, that reaſon ſhould make us voluntarily reject what it is in our power to add to our preſent happineſs, is to contradict nature, and to ſubvert the firſt principles of ſociety.

How ſhall we perſuade man to be content with the few indulgences that moraliſts think proper to allow him? How ſhall we aſcertain the limits of what is neceſſary, which varies according to his ſituation in life, his attainments, and his deſires? No ſooner had his induſtry facilitated the means of procuring a ſubſiſtence, than the leiſure he gained by this was employed in extending the limits of his faculties, and the circle of his pleaſures. Hence aroſe all his factitious wants. The diſcovery of a new ſpecies of ſenſations excited a deſire of preſerving them, and a propenſity to find out others. The perfection of one art introduced the knowledge of ſeveral others. The ſucceſs of a war, occaſioned by hunger or revenge, ſuggeſted the notion of conqueſt. Navigation put men under a neceſſity of deſtroying one another, or of forming a general

a general union. Commercial treaties between nations parted by the ſeas, and ſocial compacts between men diſperſed upon the earth, bore an exact reſemblance to each other. Theſe ſeveral relations began by conteſts, and ended by aſſociations. War and navigation have occaſioned a mutual communication between different people and different colonies. Hence men became connected with each other by dependence or intercourſe. The refuſe of all nations, mixing together during the ravages of war, are improved and poliſhed by commerce: the intent of which is, that all nations ſhould conſider themſelves as one great ſociety, whoſe members have all an equal right to partake of the conveniences of the reſt. Commerce, in its object and in the means employed to carry it on, ſuppoſes an inclination and a liberty between all nations to make every exchange that can contribute to their mutual ſatisfaction. The inclination and the liberty of procuring enjoyments, are the only two ſprings of induſtry, and the only two principles of ſocial intercourſe among men.

Those who cenſure the trade of Europe with India, have only the following reaſons to alledge againſt an univerſal and free intercourſe; that it is attended with a conſiderable loſs of men; that it checks the progreſs of our induſtry; and that it leſſens our ſtock of money. Theſe objections are eaſily obviated.

As long as every man ſhall be at liberty to chuſe a profeſſion, and to employ his abilities in any manner moſt agreeable to himſelf, we need

not be ſolicitous about his deſtiny. As in a ſtate of freedom every thing has its proper value, no man will expoſe himſelf to any danger, without expecting an equivalent. In a well regulated ſociety, every individual is at liberty to do what is moſt conformable to his inclination and his intereſt, provided it is not inconſiſtent with the properties and liberties of others. A law, that ſhould prohibit every trade in which a man might endanger his life, would condemn a great part of mankind to ſtarve, and would deprive ſociety of numberleſs advantages. We need not paſs the Line to carry on a dangerous trade; ſince, even in Europe, we may find many occupations far more deſtructive to the human race than the navigation to India. If the perils attending ſea voyages deſtroy ſome of our men, let us only give due encouragement to the culture of our lands, and our population will be ſo much increaſed, that we ſhall be better able to ſpare thoſe ſelf-devoted victims, who are ſwallowed up by the ſea. To this we may add, that moſt of thoſe who periſh in long voyages are loſt through accidental cauſes, which might eaſily be prevented by more wholeſome diet, and a more regular life. But if men will add to the vices prevalent in their own climate, and to the corruption of their own manners, thoſe of the countries where they land, it is no wonder if they cannot reſiſt theſe united principles of deſtruction.

Even ſuppoſing that the India trade ſhould coſt Europe as many men as it is ſaid to do, are we certain that this loſs is not compenſated by the labours to which that trade gives riſe, and which encourage

encourage and increafe our population? Would not the men difperfed upon the feveral fhips continually failing in thefe latitudes, occupy a place upon land which is now left vacant for others? If we confider attentively the number of people contained in the fmall territories of maritime powers, we fhall be convinced, that it is not the navigation to Afia, nor even navigation in general, that is detrimental to the population of Europe: but on the contrary, navigation alone may, perhaps, balance all the caufes that tend to the deftruction and decreafe of mankind. Let us now endeavour to remove the fears of thofe, who apprehend that the India trade leffens the number of our manufactories at home, and the profits arifing from them.

Admitting it true, that it had put a ftop to fome of our labours, it has given rife to many more. It has introduced into our colonies the culture of fugar, coffee, and indigo. Many of our manufactures are fupported by India filk and cotton. If Saxony and other countries in Europe make very fine china; if Valencia manufactures Pekins fuperior to thofe of China; if Switzerland imitates the muflins and worked callicoes of Bengal; if England and France print linens with great elegance; if fo many ftuffs, formerly unknown in our climates, now employ our beft artifts, are we not indebted to India for all thefe advantages?

Let us proceed further, and fuppofe that we are not indebted to Afia for any of our improvements, the confumption we make of its commodities cannot therefore be detrimental to our induftry;

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for we pay for them with the produce of our own manufactures exported to America. I sell a hundred livres worth of linen to a Spaniard, and send that money to the East Indies. Another sends the same quantity of the linen itself. We both bring home tea. In fact, we are both doing the same thing; we are changing a hundred livres worth of linen into tea: the only difference is, that the one does it by two transactions, and the other by a single one. Suppose the Spaniard, instead of giving me money, had given me goods that were saleable in India, I should not have injured our artificers by carrying them thither. Is it not the very same thing as if I had carried our own produce thither? I sail from Europe with the manufactures of my own country; I go to the South Sea, and exchange them for piastres; I carry those piastres to India, and bring home things that are either useful or agreeable. Have I been the means of restraining the industry of my country? Far from it; I have extended the consumption of its produce, and multiplied the enjoyments of my countrymen. But what misleads the opposers of the India trade is, that the piastres are brought over to Europe before they are carried to Asia. And lastly, whether the money is or is not employed as the intermediate pledge of exchange, I have either directly or indirectly made an exchange with Asia, and bartered goods for goods, my manufactory for theirs, my productions for their productions.

But it is objected by some discontented men, that India has at all times swallowed up all the treasures of the universe. Ever since chance has taught

taught men the uſe of metals, ſay theſe cenſurers, they have never ceaſed to ſearch for them. Avarice ever reſtleſs has not forſaken theſe barren rocks, where nature has wiſely concealed thoſe inſidious treaſures. Since they were taken out of the bowels of the earth, they have conſtantly been diffuſed upon it, and notwithſtanding the extreme opulence of the Romans, and of ſome other nations, they have diſappeared from Europe, Africa, and ſome parts of Aſia. India hath entirely abſorbed them. Riches are all taking the ſame courſe; paſſing on continually from weſt to eaſt, and never returning. It is therefore for India that the mines of Peru have been opened, and for the Indians that the Europeans have been guilty of ſo many crimes in America. Whilſt the Spaniards are laviſhing the lives of their ſlaves in Mexico to obtain ſilver out of the bowels of the earth, the Banians take ſtill more pains to bury it again. If ever the wealth of Potoſi ſhould be exhauſted, we muſt go in ſearch for it on the coaſt of Malabar where we have ſent it. When we have drained India of its pearls and ſpices, we ſhall, perhaps, by force of arms recover from them the ſums thoſe luxuries have coſt us. Thus ſhall our cruelties and caprices remove the gold and ſilver into other climes, where avarice and ſuperſtition will again bury them under ground.

These complaints are not altogether groundleſs. Even ſince the reſt of the world have opened a communication with India, they have conſtantly exchanged gold and ſilver for arts and commodities. Nature has ſupplied the Indians the few neceſſaries

ceſſaries they want; their climate will not admit of our luxuries, and their religion gives them an abhorrence for ſome things that we feed upon. As their cuſtoms, manners and government have continued the ſame notwithſtanding the revolutions that have overturned their country, we muſt not expect they ſhould ever alter. India ever was, and ever will be what it now is. As long as any trade is carried on there, money will be brought in, and goods ſent out. But before we exclaim againſt the abuſe of this trade, we ſhould attend to its progreſs, and conſider what is the reſult of it.

FIRST, it is certain our gold does not go to India. It has gold of its own, beſides a conſtant ſupply from Monomotapa, which comes by the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, and by the Red Sea; from the Turks, which is brought by the way of Arabia and Baſſora; and from Perſia, which is conveyed both by the ocean and the continent. This enormous maſs is never increaſed by the gold we procure from the Spaniſh and Portugueſe colonies. In ſhort, we are ſo far from carrying gold to Aſia, that for a long while we carried ſilver to China to barter it againſt gold.

EVEN the ſilver which India gets from us is by no means ſo conſiderable as may be imagined, from the immenſe quantity of Indian goods we bring home. The annual ſale of theſe goods has of late years amounted to a hundred and fifty millions *. Suppoſing they have coſt but half of what they

* 6,562,500 l.

ſold

ſold for, ſeventy-five millions * muſt have been ſent to India to purchaſe them, beſides what muſt have been ſent over for our ſettlements. We ſhall not ſcruple to affirm, that for ſome time paſt, all Europe has not carried thither more than twenty-four millions † a year. Eight millions ‡ are ſent from France, ſix ‖ from Holland, three § from England, three ** from Denmark, two †† from Sweden, and two ‡‡ from Portugal.

THIS calculation will not appear improbable if we conſider, that though in general India is in no want either of our produce or of our manufactures, yet they receive from us in iron, lead, copper, woollens, and other leſs articles, to the full amount of one fifth of the commodities we buy there.

THIS mode of payment is augmented by the produce of the European ſettlements in Aſia. The moſt conſiderable are thoſe of the ſpice iſlands for the Dutch, and of Bengal for the Engliſh.

THE fortunes made by the free traders and agents in India, contribute alſo to leſſen the exportation of our ſpecie. Thoſe induſtrious men depoſit their ſtock in the coffers of their own country, or of ſome other nation, to be repaid them in Europe, whither they all return ſooner or later. So that a part of the India trade is carried on with money got in the country.

PARTICULAR events alſo put us ſometimes in poſſeſſion of the treaſures of the eaſt. It is undeniable, that by the revolutions in the Decan and

* 3,281,250 l. † 1,050,000 l. ‡ 350,000 l.
‖ 262,500 l. § 131,250 l. ** 131,250 l.
†† 87,500 l. ‡‡ 87,500 l.

Bengal,

Bengal, and by difpofing of thefe empires at pleafure, the French and the Englifh have obtained the wealth accumulated for fo many ages. It is evident that thofe fums joined to others lefs confiderable, which the Europeans have acquired by their fuperior fkill and bravery, muft have retained a great deal of fpecie among them, which otherwife would have gone into Afia.

THAT rich part of the world has even reftored to us fome of the treafure we had poured into it. The expedition of Kouli Khan into India is univerfally known, but it is not equally fo, that he wrefted from the effeminate and cowardly people of this country upwards of 2,000,000,000 * in fpecie, or in valuable effects. The emperor's palace alone contained ineftimable and innumerable treafures. The prefence chamber was covered with plates of gold; the ceiling was fet with diamonds. Twelve pillars of maffive gold, adorned with pearls and precious ftones, furrounded the throne, the canopy of which was remarkably beautiful, and reprefented a peacock, with his wings and tail extended to overfhadow the monarch. The diamonds, rubies, emeralds, and all the fparkling gems which compofed this curious piece of workmanfhip, perfectly imitated the colours of this beautiful bird. No doubt part of that wealth is returned into India. Much of the treafure brought to Perfia from the conqueft of the Mogul, muft have been buried under ground during the fubfequent wars; but the feveral branches of

* 87,500,000 l.

commerce

commerce muſt certainly have brought ſome to Europe through ſuch channels as are too well known to make it neceſſary to ſpecify them.

ADMITTING that none of theſe riches have reached us, the opinion of thoſe who condemn the trade of India, becauſe it is carried on with ſpecie, will not be better ſupported, which may be eaſily proved. Gold and ſilver are not the produce of our ſoil, but of America, and ſent us in exchange for the productions of our own country. If Europe did not remit them to Aſia, America would ſoon be unable to return any to Europe. The too great plenty of it on our continent would ſo reduce its value, that the nations who bring it to us, could no longer get it from their colonies. When once an ell of linen cloth, which is now worth twenty ſols *, riſes to a piſtole †, the Spaniards cannot buy it of us, to carry it to the country which produces ſilver. The working of their mines is expenſive. When this expence ſhall have increaſed to ten times that ſum, and the value of ſilver is ſtill the ſame, the buſineſs of working in the mines will be more coſtly than profitable to the owners, who will conſequently give it up. No more gold and ſilver will come from the new world to the old, and the Americans will be obliged to neglect their richeſt mines as they have gradually forſaken the leſs valuable ones. This event would have taken place before, if they had not found a way of diſpoſing of about 3,000,000,000 ‡ in Aſia, by the Cape of Good Hope,

* 10d. ½.

† 16s. 9d.

‡ 131,250,000 l.

Hope, or by the Philippine iſlands. Therefore this circulation of money into India, which ſo many prejudiced perſons have hitherto conſidered as a ruinous exportation, has been beneficial both to Spain, by ſupporting the only manufacture ſhe has, and to other nations, who without it could never have diſpoſed of their produce, or of the fruits of their induſtry. Having thus juſtified the India trade, we ſhall next proceed to inquire whether it has been conducted on the principles of ſound policy.

An inquiry whether it is neceſſary, that the Europeans ſhould have large eſtabliſhments in India, in order to carry on the trade.

ALL the nations in Europe, who have ſailed round the Cape of Good Hope, have aimed at founding great empires in Aſia. The Portugueſe, who led the way to thoſe wealthy regions, firſt ſet us the example of a boundleſs ambition. Not content with having made themſelves maſters of the iſlands, in which the choiceſt productions were to be found, and erected fortreſſes wherever they were neceſſary to ſecure to themſelves the navigation of the eaſt, they aſpired alſo to the authority of giving laws to Malabar, which, being divided into ſeveral petty ſovereignties, that were jealous of, or at enmity with each other, was forced to ſubmit to the yoke.

THE Spaniards did not at firſt ſhew more moderation; even before they had completed the conqueſt of the Philippine iſlands, which were to be the center of their power, they ſtrove to extend their dominion further. If they have not ſince ſubdued the reſt of that immenſe Archipelago, or filled all the adjacent countries with their enormities, we muſt look for the cauſe of their tran-

quillity

quillity in the treasures of America, which confined their pursuits, though they did not satisfy their desires.

THE Dutch deprived the Portuguese of their most considerable posts on the continent, and drove them out of the spice islands. They have preserved those possessions, and some later acquisitions, only by establishing a form of government less oppressive than that of the nations on whose ruins they were rising.

THE slowness and irresolution of the French in their proceedings, prevented them for a considerable time from forming or executing any great projects. As soon as they found themselves sufficiently powerful, they availed themselves of the subversion of the power of the Moguls, to usurp the dominion of Coromandel. They obtained by conquest, or by artful negotiations, a more extensive territory than any European power had ever possessed in Indostan.

THE English, more prudent, did not attempt to aggrandise themselves, till they had deprived the French of their acquisitions, and till no rival nation could act against them. The certainty of having none but the natives of the country to contend with, determined them to attack Bengal. This was the province of all India which afforded most commodities fit for the markets of Asia and Europe, and was likely to consume most of their manufactures: it was also that which their fleet could most effectually protect, as it hath the advantage of a great river. They have succeeded in their

their plan of conqueſt, and flatter themſelves they ſhall long enjoy the fruits of their victory.

THEIR ſucceſſes, and thoſe of the French, have aſtoniſhed all nations. It is eaſy to conceive how ſolitary and defenceleſs iſlands, that have no connection with their neighbours, may have been ſubdued. But it is very aſtoniſhing, that five or ſix hundred Europeans ſhould at this time have beaten innumerable armies of Gentiles and Mohammedans, moſtly ſkilled in the art of war. Theſe extraordinary ſcenes, however, ought not to appear ſurpriſing to any one who conſiders what has happened before.

THE Portugueſe had no ſooner appeared in the eaſt, than with a few ſhips and a few ſoldiers they ſubverted whole kingdoms. The eſtabliſhment of ſome factories, and the building of a ſmall number of forts, was ſufficient to enable them to cruſh the powers of India. When the Indians were no longer oppreſſed by the firſt conquerors, they were ſo by thoſe who expelled and ſucceeded them. The hiſtory of theſe delightful regions was no longer the hiſtory of the natives, but that of their tyrants.

BUT what ſingular men muſt theſe have been, who never could gather any improvement from experience and adverſity; who ſurrendered themſelves to their common enemy without making any reſiſtance, and who never acquired ſkill enough from their continual defeats to repulſe a few adventurers, caſt as it were from the ſea upon their coaſts! It is a matter of doubt whether theſe men, alternately deceived and ſubdued by thoſe who attacked

tacked them, were not of a different ſpecies. To reſolve this problem, we need only trace the cauſes of this weakneſs in the Indians; and our firſt inquiry ſhall turn upon that ſyſtem of deſpotiſm with which they are oppreſſed.

THERE is no nation, which, as it becomes civilized, does not loſe ſomething of its virtue, courage and independence; and it is evident that the inhabitants of the ſouth of Aſia having been firſt collected into ſocieties, muſt have been the earlieſt expoſed to deſpotiſm. Such has been the progreſs of all aſſociations from the beginning of the world. Another truth equally evident from hiſtory is, that all arbitrary power haſtens its own deſtruction, and that revolutions will reſtore liberty, ſooner or later, as they are more or leſs rapid. Indoſtan is perhaps the only country, in which the inhabitants, afrer having once loſt their rights, have never been able to recover them. Tyrants have frequently been deſtroyed, but tyranny has always ſupported itſelf.

CIVIL ſlavery has been added in India to political ſlavery. The Indian is not maſter of his own life; he knows of no law that will protect it from the caprice of the tyrant, or the fury of his agents. He is not maſter of his own underſtanding; he is debarred from all ſtudies that are beneficial to mankind, and only allowed ſuch as tend to enſlave him. He is not maſter of his own field; the lands and their produce belong to the ſovereign, and the labourer may be ſatisfied if he can earn enough to ſubſiſt himſelf and family. He is not maſter of his own induſtry; every artiſt, who has

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had the misfortune to betray ſome abilities, is in danger of being doomed to ſerve the monarch, his deputies, or ſome rich man, who has purchaſed a right to employ him as he pleaſes. He is not maſter of his own wealth: he buries his gold under ground to ſecure it from the rapacious hand of power, and leaves it there at his death, abſurdly imagining it will be of ſervice to him in the next world. No doubt this abſolute and tyrannical authority, with which the Indian is every where oppreſſed, muſt ſubdue his ſpirit, and render him incapable of thoſe efforts that courage requires.

The climate of Indoſtan is another impediment to any generous exertions. The indolence it inſpires is an invincible obſtacle to great revolutions and vigorous oppoſitions, ſo common in the northern regions. The body and the mind, equally enervated, have only the virtues and vices of ſlavery. In the ſecond, or at furtheſt in the third generation, Tartars, Turks, Perſians, and even Europeans, contract the ſlothful diſpoſition of the Indians. Theſe influences of the climate might certainly be ſubdued by religious or moral inſtitutions; but the ſuperſtitions of the country will not admit of ſuch exalted views. They never promiſe future rewards to the generous patriot, who falls in his country's cauſe. While they adviſe, and ſometimes command ſuicide, by repreſenting in a ſtrong light the alluring proſpect of future happineſs, they at the ſame time ſtrictly forbid the effuſion of blood.

This circumſtance is a neceſſary conſequence of the doctrine of tranſmigration, which muſt inſpire

its

its followers with conftant and univerfal benevolence. They are in continual fear of injuring their neighbour, that is, all men and all animals. How can a man reconcile himfelf to the idea of being a foldier, when he can fay, Perhaps the elephant or the horfe I am going to deftroy may contain the foul of my father—Perhaps the enemy I fhall kill has formerly been the chief of my family? Thus in India, religion tends to keep up the fpirit of cowardice which refults from defpotifm and the nature of the climate: the manners of the people contribute ftill more to increafe it.

In every country, love is the ruling paffion, but it is not equally ftrong in every climate. While northern nations are moderate in their defires, the fouthern ones indulge in them with a degree of ardour fuperior to every reftraint. The policy of princes has fometimes turned this paffion to the advantage of fociety; but the legiflators of India feem to have principally intended to increafe the fatal influence of their ardent climate. The Moguls, the laft conquerors of thofe regions, have proceeded ftill further. Love is with them a fhameful and deftructive excefs, confecrated by religion, by the laws, and by government. The military conduct of the nations of Indoftan, whether Pagans or Mohammedans, is confiftent with their diffolute manners. We fhall mention fome particulars taken from the writings of an Englifh officer remarkable for his military exploits in thofe parts.

The foldiers make up the fmalleft part of the Indian camps. Every trooper is attended by his

 wife,

wife, his children, and two servants; one to look after his horse, and the other to forage. The train of the officers and generals is proportionable to their vanity, their fortune, and their rank. The sovereign himself, more intent upon making a parade of his magnificence than upon the necessities of war, when he takes the field, carries along with him his seraglio, his elephants, his court, and almost all the inhabitants of his capital. To provide for the wants, the fancies and the luxury of this strange multitude, a kind of town must of course be formed in the midst of the army, full of magazines and unnecessary articles. The motions of a body so unwieldy and so ill arranged cannot but be very slow. There is great confusion in their marches, and in all their operations. However abstemious the Indians, and even the Moguls may be, they must often experience a want of provisions, and famine is usually attended with contagious distempers, and occasions a dreadful mortality.

These distempers, however, seldom destroy any but recruits. Though, in general, the inhabitants of Indostan affect a strong passion for military glory, yet they engage in war as seldom as they can. Those who have been so successful in battle as to obtain some marks of distinction, are excused from serving for some time; and there are few that do not avail themselves of this privilege. The retreat of these veterans reduces the army to a contemptible body of soldiers, levied in haste in the several provinces of the empire, and who are utterly unacquainted with discipline.

The

The nature of the provisions on which these troops subsist, and their manner of living, is entirely consistent with this improper mode of raising them. At night they eat a prodigious quantity of rice, and after this meal they take strong opiates which throw them into a deep sleep. Notwithstanding this pernicious custom, no guards are placed about their camp to prevent a surprize; nor is it possible to make a soldier rise early even to execute any enterprize that may require the greatest dispatch.

The military operations are regulated by birds of prey, of which there are always a great number in the army. If they are found heavy or languid, it is an unfavourable omen, and prevents the army from giving battle: if they are fierce and violent, the troops march out to action, whatever reasons there may be for avoiding or deferring it. This superstition, as well as the observance of lucky and unlucky days, determines the fate of the best concerted designs.

No order is observed in marching. Every soldier goes on as he pleases, and only follows the corps to which he belongs. He is frequently seen carrying his provisions upon his head, with the vessels for dressing them; whilst his arms are carried by his wife, who is commonly followed by several children. If a foot soldier has any relations, or business to transact, in the enemy's army, he is under no apprehension in going to it, and returns to join his colours without meeting with the least opposition.

 The

BOOK V.

The action is not better conducted than the preparations for it. The cavalry, in which consists the whole strength of an Indian army, (for the infantry are held in general contempt) are useful enough in charging with the sword and spear, but can never stand the fire of cannon or musquetry. They are afraid of losing their horses, which are mostly Arabian, Persian or Tartar, and in which their whole fortune consists. The troops that compose this cavalry are held in great esteem, and well paid: they are so fond of their horses, that sometimes they will go into mourning upon losing them.

The Indians dread the enemy's artillery, as much as they confide in their own; though they neither know how to transport it, nor how to make use of it. Their great guns, which are called by pompous names, are generally of a very extraordinary size, and rather prevent than assist the gaining of a victory.

Those who are ambitious of being distinguished intoxicate themselves with opium, imagining that it warms the blood, and animates them to the performance of heroic actions. In this temporary state of intoxication, they bear a greater resemblance, in their dress and impotent rage, to women actuated by a spirit of enthusiasm, than to men of courage and resolution.

The prince who commands these despicable troops, is always mounted on an elephant richly caparisoned, where he is at once the general and the standard of the whole army, whose eyes are fixed

fixed upon him. If he flies, he is slain; the whole machine is destroyed; the several corps disperse, or go over to the enemy.

This description, which we might have enlarged upon without exaggeration, renders probable the account given of our successes in Indostan. Many Europeans, judging of what might be effected in the inland parts by what has been done on the coasts, imagine we might safely undertake the conquest of the whole country. This extreme confidence arises from the following circumstance, that in places where the enemy could not harrass their troops in the rear, nor intercept their succours, they have overcome timorous weavers and merchants, undisciplined and cowardly armies, weak princes jealous of each other, and perpetually at war with their neighbours, or their own subjects. They do not consider, that if they wanted to penetrate into the interior parts, they would all perish before they had proceeded half way up the country. The excessive heat of the climate, continual fatigue, numberless diseases, want of provision, and a variety of other causes, would soon considerably diminish their numbers, even though they had nothing to apprehend from those troops that might molest them.

We will suppose, however, that ten thousand European soldiers had actually over-run and ravaged India from one end to the other; what would be the consequence? Would these forces be sufficient to secure the conquest, to keep every nation, every province, every district in order? And if this number is not sufficient, let it be calculated

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what number of troops would be neceſſary for the purpoſe.

But let us admit that the conquerors had firmly eſtabliſhed their government in India, they would ſtill reap very little advantage from this circumſtance. The revenues of Indoſtan would be ſpent in Indoſtan itſelf. The European power that had purſued this project of uſurpation, would have experienced nothing but a conſiderable decreaſe in its population, and the diſgrace of having followed a viſionary ſyſtem.

This, indeed, is now an uſeleſs queſtion, ſince the Europeans themſelves have made their ſucceſs in Indoſtan more difficult than ever. By engaging the natives to take a part in their mutual diſſentions, they have taught them the art of war, and trained them to arms and diſcipline. This error in politics has opened the eyes of the ſovereigns of thoſe countries, whoſe ambition has been excited to eſtabliſh regular troops. Their cavalry marches in better order; and their infantry, which was always conſidered in ſo deſpicable a light, has now acquired the firmneſs of our battalions. A numerous and well managed artillery defends their camps, and protects their attacks. The armies, compoſed of better troops, and better paid, have been able to keep the field longer.

This change, which might have been foreſeen, had the Europeans not been blinded by temporary intereſt, may in time become ſo conſiderable, as to raiſe unſurmountable obſtacles to the deſire they have of extending their conqueſts in Indoſtan, and poſſibly they may loſe thoſe they have already made,

made. Whether this will be a misfortune or an advantage, is what we ſhall next take into con-ſideration.

When the Europeans firſt began to trade in that wealthy region, they found it divided into a great many ſmall ſtates, ſome of which were governed by princes of their own nation, and ſome by Patan kings. Their mutual hatred was the occaſion of continual conteſts. Beſides the wars that were carried on between province and province, there was a perpetual one between every ſovereign and his ſubjects. It was fomented by the tax-gatherers, who, to ingratiate themſelves at court, always levied heavier taxes than had been laid on the people. Theſe barbarians aggravated this heavy burden by the oppreſſions they made the inhabitants ſuffer. Their extortions were only another method of ſecuring to themſelves the poſts they enjoyed, in a country where he is always in the right who has the moſt to give.

From this anarchy and theſe violent proceedings, it was imagined, that to ſettle a ſafe and permament commerce, it was neceſſary to ſupport it by the force of arms, and the European factories were accordingly fortified. In proceſs of time, jealouſy, which divides the European nations in India, as it does every where elſe, expoſed them to more conſiderable expences. Each of theſe foreign nations thought it neceſſary to augment their forces, leſt they ſhould be overpowered by their rivals.

The dominion of the Europeans, however, extended no further than their own fortreſſes. Goods were

were brought thither from the inland parts with little difficulty, or with ſuch as was eaſily overcome. Even after the conqueſts of Kouli-kan had plunged the north of Indoſtan into confuſion, the coaſt of Coromandel enjoyed its former tranquillity. But the death of Nizam-al-Muluc, Subah of the Decan, kindled a flame which is not yet fully extinguiſhed.

The diſpoſal of thoſe immenſe ſpoils naturally belonged to the court of Dehly; but the weakneſs of that court emboldened the children of Nizam to diſpute their father's treaſure. To ſupplant each other, they had recourſe alternately to arms, to treachery, to poiſon, and to aſſaſſinations. Moſt of the adventurers they engaged in their animoſities and crimes, periſhed during theſe horrid tranſactions. The Marattas alone, a nation who alternately ſided with both parties, and often had troops in each, ſeemed as if they would avail themſelves of this anarchy, and invade the ſovereignty of the Decan. The Europeans have pretended it was greatly their intereſt to oppoſe this deep but ſecret deſign, and they alledge the following reaſons in their defence:

The Marattas, ſay they, are thieves, both from education and from their political principles. They have no regard to the law of nations, no notion of natural or civil right, and ſpread deſolation where-ever they go. The moſt populous countries are abandoned, at the very report of their approach. In the countries they have ſubdued, nothing is to be ſeen but confuſion, and all the manufactures are deſtroyed.

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The Europeans, who were moſt powerful on the coaſt of Coromandel, thought ſuch neighbours would utterly deſtroy their trade, and they could never venture to ſend money by their agents to buy goods in the inland countries, as they would certainly be plundered by theſe banditti. The deſire of preventing this evil, which muſt ruin their fortunes, and deprive them of the benefit of their ſettlements, ſuggeſted to their agents the idea of a new ſyſtem.

It was aſſerted, that in the preſent ſituation of Indoſtan, it was impoſſible to keep up uſeful connections without a military eſtabliſhment. That at ſo great a diſtance from the mother country, the expence could not poſſibly be defrayed out of the mere profits of trade, were they ever ſo great. That therefore it was abſolutely neceſſary to procure ſufficient poſſeſſions to anſwer theſe great expences, and conſequently that the poſſeſſions muſt be conſiderable.

This argument, probably ſuggeſted to conceal inſatiable avarice and boundleſs ambition, and which the paſſion for conqueſt may have occaſioned to be conſidered as a very ſtrong one, may, perhaps, be a mere illuſion. A variety of natural, moral and political reaſons may be urged in oppoſition to it. We ſhall only inſiſt upon one, which is founded upon a fact. From the Portugueſe, who firſt attempted to aggrandize themſelves in India, to the Engliſh, who cloſed the fatal liſt of uſurpers, not one acquiſition, however important or trifling, except Bengal and the ſpice iſlands, has ever paid the expence of taking and ſupporting it.

it. The more extenſive the poſſeſſions have been, the greater has been the expence of maintaining them to the ambitious power that had, by whatever means, acquired them.

THIS is what will always happen. Every nation that has obtained a large territory will be deſirous of preſerving it. It will think there is no ſafety but in fortified places, and will conſtantly multiply them. This warlike appearance will deter the huſbandman and the artiſt, who will not expect to enjoy tranquillity. The neighbouring princes will grow jealous, and will juſtly be afraid of falling a prey to a trading nation now become a conquering one. In conſequence of this, they will be deviſing means to ruin an oppreſſor, whom they had admitted into their harbours with no other view than to increaſe their own treaſures and power. If they find themſelves under a neceſſity of entering into a treaty, they will at the inſtant of ſigning ſecretly vow the deſtruction of their new ally. Falſhood will be the baſis of all their agreements; and the longer they have been forced to diſſemble, the more time they will have had to prepare the means deſtined to deſtroy their enemy.

THE juſt apprehenſion of theſe perfidies will oblige the uſurpers to be always upon their guard. If they are to be defended by Europeans, what a conſumption of men for the mother country! What an expence to raiſe them, to tranſport them into theſe countries, to maintain and recruit them! If, from a principle of œconomy, they content themſelves with the Indian troops, what can be expected from a confuſed and unprincipled multitude,

multitude, whofe expeditions always degenerate into robbery, and conftantly end in a fhameful and precipitate flight? Their principles, whether natural or moral, are fo weakened, that even the defence of their gods and their own houfholds could never infpire the boldeft among them with any thing beyond a fudden and tranfient exertion of intrepidity. It is not probable that foreign interefts, ruinous to their country, fhould ever animate men whofe minds are funk in indolence and corruption: is it not more probable that they will be ever ready to betray a caufe they abhor, and in which they find no immediate and lafting advantage?

To thefe inconveniences will be added a fpirit of extortion and plunder, which even in the times of peace will nearly refemble the devaftations of war. The agents intrufted with thofe remote concerns, will be defirous of making rapid fortunes. The flow and regular profits of trade they will not attend to, but will endeavour to promote fpeedy revolutions in order to acquire great wealth. They will have occafioned innumerable evils, before they can be controuled by authority, at the diftance of fix thoufand leagues. This authority will have no force againft millions, or the perfons intrufted with it will arrive too late to prevent the fall of an edifice fupported on fo weak a foundation.

THIS refult makes it needlefs to inquire into the nature of the political engagements the Europeans have entered into with the powers of India. If thefe great acquifitions are hurtful, the treaties made to procure them cannot be rational.

If

If the merchants of Europe are wife, they will forego the rage of conqueft, and the flattering hopes of holding the balance of Afia.

The court of Dehly will finally fink under the weight of inteftine divifions, or fortune will raife up a prince capable of reftoring it. The government will remain feudal, or once more become defpotic. The empire will be divided into many independent ftates, or will be fubject only to one mafter. Either the Marattas or the Moguls will become a ruling power; but the Europeans fhould not be concerned in thefe revolutions; whatever be the fate of Indoftan, the Indians will ftill continue their manufactures, and we fhall purchafe them.

It would be needlefs to alledge, that the fpirit which has always prevailed in thofe countries has forced us to depart from their common rules of trade; that we are in arms upon the coafts; that this pofition unavoidably obliges us to interfere with the affairs of our neighbours; and that if we avoid all intercourfe with them, fuch a referve will certainly prove extremely detrimental to our interefts. Thefe fears will appear groundlefs to fenfible men, who know that a war in thofe diftant regions muft be ftill more fatal to the Europeans than to the natives, and that the confequence will be, that we muft either fubdue the whole, which is fcarce poffible, or be for ever expelled from a country where it is our advantage to maintain our connections.

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The love of order and tranquillity would even make it desirable to extend these pacific views; and far from thinking that great possessions are necessary, time will probably discover even the inutility of fortified posts. The Indians are naturally gentle and humane, though crushed under the severe burden of despotism. The nations who formerly traded with them, always commended them for their candor and honesty. The Indians are now in a state of confusion, equally alarming to them and to us. Our ambition has carried discord into all parts of their country, and our rapaciousness has inspired them with hatred, fear, and contempt for our continent; they look upon us as conquerors, usurpers and oppressors, sanguinary and avaritious men. This is the character we have acquired in the east. Our examples have increased the number of their national vices, at the same time that we have taught them to be in guard against ours.

If in our transactions with the Indians we had been guided by principles of probity; if we had shewn them, that mutual advantage is the basis of commerce; if we had encouraged their cultivation, and manufactures, by exchanges equally advantageous to both; we should insensibly have gained their affections. If we had fortunately taken care to preserve their confidence in our dealings with them, we might have removed their prejudices, and, perhaps, changed their form of government. We should have succeeded so far as to have lived amongst them, and trained up civilized nations around us, who would have protected

protected our ſettlements for our mutual intereſts. Every one of our eſtabliſhments would have been to each nation in Europe as their native country, where they would have found a ſure protection. Our ſituation in India is the conſequence of our profligacy, and of the ſanguinary ſyſtems we have introduced there. The Indians imagine nothing is due to us, becauſe all our actions have ſhewn that we did not think ourſelves under any ties with reſpect to them.

This ſtate of perpetual contention is diſpleaſing to moſt of the Aſiatic nations, and they ardently wiſh for a happier change. The diſorder of our affairs muſt have inſpired us with the ſame ſentiments. If we are all in the ſame diſpoſitions, and if one common intereſt really inclines us to peace and harmony, the moſt effectual way to attain this deſirable end would perhaps be, that all the European nations who trade to India, ſhould agree among themſelves to preſerve a neutrality in thoſe remote ſeas, which ſhould never be interrupted by the diſturbances that ſo frequently happen on our own continent. If we could once conſider ourſelves as members of one great commonwealth, we ſhould not want thoſe forces which make us odious abroad, and ruin us at home. But as our preſent ſpirit of diſcord will not permit us to expect that ſuch a change can ſoon take place, it remains only that we now conſider, whether Europe ought ſtill to carry on the India trade by charter companies, or to make it a free trade.

Whether Europe ought to lay open the trade to India, or carry it on by exclusive charters.

If this queſtion were to be decided upon general principles, it would be eaſily anſwered. If we aſk whether, in a ſtate, which allows any particular branch of trade, every citizen has a right to partake of it; the anſwer is ſo plain as to leave no room for diſcuſſion. It would be unnatural, that ſubjects who ſhare alike the burden and public expence of civil ſociety, ſhould not be alike partakers of the benefits ariſing from the compact that unites them; they would have cauſe to complain, that they ſuſtain all the inconveniences of ſociety, and are deprived of the advantages they expected to receive from it.

On the other hand, political notions are perfectly reconcileable with theſe ideas of juſtice. It is well known that freedom is the very ſoul of commerce, and that nothing elſe can bring it to perfection. It is generally allowed that competition awakens induſtry, and gives it all the vigour it is capable of acquiring. Yet for upwards of a century, the practice has conſtantly been contradictory to theſe principles.

All the nations of Europe that trade to India, carry on that commerce by excluſive companies; and it muſt be confeſſed, that this practice is plauſible, becauſe it is hardly conceivable that great and enlightened nations ſhould have been under a miſtake for above a hundred years on ſo important a point, and that neither experience nor argument ſhould have undeceived them. We muſt conclude therefore that either the advocates for liberty have given too great a latitude to their

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principles, or the favourers of exclusive privilege have too strenuously asserted the necessity of such limitations; possibly, both parties, from too great an attachment to their respective opinions, have been deceived, and are equally distant from the truth.

Ever since this famous question has been debated, it has always been thought to be a very simple one; it has always been supposed that an India company must necessarily be exclusive, and that its existence was essentially connected with its privilege. Hence the advocates for a free trade have asserted that exclusive privileges were odious; and, therefore, that there ought to be no company. Their opponents have argued, on the contrary, that the nature of things required a company; and therefore that there must be an exclusive charter. But if we can make it appear that the reasons urged against charters prove nothing against companies in general, and that the circumstances which may render it necessary to have an India company, do not supply any argument in favour of a charter; if we can demonstrate that the nature of things requires, indeed, a powerful association, a company for the India trade; but that the exclusive charter is connected only with particular causes, insomuch that the company may exist without the charter, we shall then have traced the source of the common error, and found out the solution of the difficulty.

Let us inquire what constitutes the particular nature of commercial transactions? It is the

the climate, the produce, the diſtance of places, the form of the government, the genius and manners of the people who are ſubject to it. In the trade with India, the merchant muſt undertake a voyage of ſix thouſand miles in ſearch of the commodities which the country ſupplies: he muſt arrive there at a certain ſeaſon, and wait till another for the proper winds to return home. Therefore every voyage takes up about two years, and the proprietors of the veſſels muſt wait this time for their returns. This is the firſt and a very material circumſtance.

The nature of a government in which there is neither ſafety nor property will not permit the people to have any public markets, or to lay up any ſtores. Let us repreſent to ourſelves men who are depreſſed and corrupted by deſpotiſm, workmen who are unable to undertake any thing of themſelves; and on the other hand, nature more liberal in her gifts, than power is rapacious, ſupplying a ſlothful people with food ſufficient for their wants and their deſires; and we ſhall wonder that any induſtry ſhould be found in India. And indeed it may be affirmed, that ſcarce any manufacture would be carried on there, if the workmen were not encouraged by ready money, or if the goods were not engaged for a year before they are wanted. One third of the money is paid at the time the work is ordered, another when it is half done, and the remainder on delivery of the goods. From this mode of payment there is a conſiderable difference made, both in price and in the quality of the goods; but from hence likewiſe ariſes

 a neceſſity

a neceſſity of having one's capital out a year longer, that is, three years inſtead of two. This is an alarming circumſtance for a private man, eſpecially if we conſider the largeneſs of the capital that is requiſite for ſuch undertakings.

As the charges of navigation and the riſques are very great, they cannot be ſupported without bringing home complete cargoes, that is, cargoes of a million or a million and a half of livres *, at prime coſt in India. Where ſhall we find merchants, or even men poſſeſſed of a ſufficient capital to enable them to advance ſuch a ſum to be reimburſed only at the end of three years? Undoubtedly there are very few in Europe; and among thoſe who might have the power, ſcarce any would have the will. If we conſult experience, we ſhall find that men of moderate fortunes only, are the perſons who are inclined to run great riſques, in order to make great profits. But when once a man is poſſeſſed of an ample fortune, he is inclined to enjoy it, and to enjoy it with ſecurity. The deſire of riches cannot indeed be ſatisfied by the poſſeſſion of them, which, on the contrary, frequently increaſes it; but at the ſame time, the poſſeſſion of wealth furniſhes various means of gratifying that deſire without either trouble or danger. This opens to our view the neceſſity of entering into aſſociations, where a number of men will not ſcruple to be concerned, becauſe every individual will venture but a ſmall part of his fortune, and will rate the meaſure

* About 54,7col. on an average.

of

of his profits upon the united ſtock of the whole ſociety. This neceſſity will appear ſtill more evident, if we conſider how the buſineſs of buying and ſelling is managed in India, and what precautions it requires.

To make a previous agreement for a cargo, above fifty different agents muſt be employed, who are diſperſed in different parts, at the diſtance of three, four, and five hundred leagues from each other. When the work is done, it muſt be examined and meaſured, otherwiſe the goods would ſoon be found faulty from the want of honeſty in the workmen who are equally corrupted by the nature of their government, and by the influence of crimes of every kind which the Europeans have ſet them the example of for theſe three centuries paſt.

After all theſe details, there are ſtill other operations remaining equally neceſſary. There muſt be whiſters, men to beat the linens, packers, and bleaching grounds which muſt be ſupplied with pools of water fit for the purpoſe. It would certainly be very difficult for individuals, to attend and to obſerve all theſe precautions; but even admitting it poſſible for induſtry to effect this, yet it could only be done as long as each of them could keep up a continued trade, and regularly ſhip off freſh cargoes. All theſe particulars are not to be executed in a ſhort time, and not without eſtabliſhed connections. Every private man, therefore, ſhould be able to fit out a ſhip annually during three years, that is, to diſburſe four mil-

lions of livres *. This is evidently impoffible, and it is plain that fuch an undertaking can only be carried into execution by a fociety.

But, perhaps, fome commercial houfes will be eftablifhed in India, on purpofe to tranfact this previous bufinefs, and to keep cargoes in readinefs for the fhips that are to be fent off to Europe.

This eftablifhment of trading houfes at fix thoufand leagues from the mother country, with the immenfe ftock that would be requifite to pay the weavers in advance, feems to be a vifionary fcheme, inconfiftent with reafon and experience. Can it be ferioufly imagined that any merchants who have already acquired a fortune in Europe, will tranfmit it to Afia to purchafe a ftock of muflins, in expectation of fhips that, perhaps, may never arrive, or if they fhould, may be but few in number, and may not have a fufficient capital to purchafe with? On the contrary, we fee that every European who has made a fmall fortune in India, is defirous of returning home, and inftead of endeavouring to increafe it by thofe eafy methods that private trade, and the fervice of the companies offers in that country, he is rather anxious to come and enjoy it with tranquillity in his own.

If other proofs and examples were neceffary, we need only attend to what paffes in America. If we could fuppofe that commerce, and the hopes of the profits arifing from it, were capable of alluring rich Europeans to quit their native country, it would certainly be in order to fettle in that part of the world, which is much nearer than Afia, and

* 175,000l.

where

where they would find the ſame laws and manners as in Europe. It might naturally be ſuppoſed that the merchants ſhould previouſly buy up the ſugars of the planters, and keep them in readineſs to be delivered to the European ſhips as ſoon as they arrive, on receiving other commodities in exchange, which they would afterwards ſell to the planters when they wanted them. But it is quite the contrary. The merchants ſettled in America are nothing more than commiſſaries or factors, who tranſact the exchanges between the planters and the Europeans, and are ſo far from being able to carry on any conſiderable trade on their own account, that when a ſhip has not met with an opportunity of diſpoſing of her lading, it is left in truſt, on the account of the owner, in the hands of the commiſſary to whom it was conſigned. It is reaſonable, therefore, to conclude, that what it not practiſed in America, would ſtill be leſs ſo in Aſia, where a larger ſtock would be wanted, and greater difficulties muſt be encountered. Add to this, that the ſuppoſed eſtabliſhment of commercial houſes in India would not ſupercede the neceſſity of forming companies in Europe; becauſe it would be equally neceſſary to diſburſe twelve or fifteen hundred thouſand livres * for the fitting out of every ſhip, which could never return into the ſtock till the third year at ſooneſt.

THIS neceſſity being once proved in every poſſible caſe, it is manifeſt that the trade of India is of ſuch a nature, that very few merchants, if

* About 60,000l. on an average.

any, can undertake it upon their own bottom, or carry it on by themſelves, and without the help of a great number of partners. Having demonſtrated the neceſſity of theſe ſocieties, we muſt now endeavour to prove, that their intereſt and the nature of things would incline them to unite in one and the ſame company.

THIS propoſition depends upon two principal reaſons: the danger of competition in the purchaſes and ſales, and the neceſſity of aſſortments.

THE competition of buyers and ſellers reduces the commodities to their juſt value. When the competition of ſellers is greater than that of buyers, the goods ſell for leſs than they are worth; and when there are more buyers than ſellers, their price is raiſed beyond their ordinary value. Let us apply this to the India trade.

WHEN we ſuppoſe that this trade will extend in proportion to the number of private ſhips ſent there, we are not aware that this multiplicity will only increaſe the competition on the ſide of the buyers, whereas it is not in our power to increaſe it on the ſide of the ſellers. It is juſt the ſame as if we were to adviſe a number of traders to bid over one another, in order to obtain their goods at a cheaper rate.

THE Indians ſcarce make any conſumption of the produce either of our lands or of manufactures. They have few wants, little ambition, and no great ſhare of induſtry. They would readily diſpenſe with the gold and ſilver of America, which is ſo far from procuring them any enjoyments, that it only ſerves to ſupport the tyranny under which

which they are oppreſſed. Thus, as all objects of exchange have no value but in proportion to the wants or the fancy of the exchangers, it is evident that in India our commodities are worth very little, while thoſe we buy there are of great value. As long as no Indian ſhips come into our harbours to carry away our ſtuffs and our metals, we may venture to affirm that thoſe people are not in want of us, and will conſequently make their own terms in all their dealings with us. Hence it follows, that the greater number there are of European merchants who are concerned in this trade, the more the produce of India will riſe, and our own ſink, in value; and that at laſt it will be only by immenſe exports that we ſhall be able to procure any India goods at all. But if, in conſequence of this order of things, each particular ſociety is obliged to export more money, without bringing home more goods, its trade muſt be very diſadvantageous, and the ſame competition that began its ruin in Aſia, will complete it in Europe; becauſe the number of ſellers being then greater, while that of buyers ſtill continues the ſame, the ſocieties will be obliged to ſell at a lower price, after having bought at an advanced one.

THE article of aſſortments is not of leſs conſequence. By aſſortments is meant the combination of all the ſeveral ſorts of commodities that the different parts of India produce; a combination which is proportioned to the preſent plenty or ſcarcity of each kind of commodity in Europe. On this chiefly depends the ſucceſs and all the profits

profits of the trade. But nothing would be more difficult in the practice for private societies, than this assortment. How, indeed, should those small societies unconnected with each other, whose interest it is to conceal their mutual transactions, acquire the knowledge that is requisite for this important purpose? How could they direct such a multitude of agents as must be employed? It is plain that the supercargoes and commissaries incapable of general views, would be all asking for the same sort of goods at the same time, in hopes of making a greater profit. This would of course enhance the price of that article in India, and lower it in Europe, to the great detriment of the owners, and of the nation in general.

All these considerations would certainly be perceived by the captains of ships and by the men of property, who would be solicited to enter into these societies. They would be discouraged by the fear of having a competition with other societies, either in the purchase, the sale, or the making up of the assortments. The number of these societies would soon be reduced, and trade, instead of extending, would constantly decline, and at last be entirely lost.

It would, therefore, be for the interest of these private societies, as we have before observed, to unite together; because then all their agents both on the coast of Coromandel, and on that of Malabar and in Bengal, being united and directed by one consistent system, would jointly labour in the several factories, to collect proper assortments for the cargoes that were to be sent away from the chief

chief factory, ſo that the whole ſhould make a complete aſſortment when brought home, being collected upon an uniform plan, and proportioned according to the orders and inſtructions ſent from Europe.

BUT it would be in vain to expect that any ſuch union could take place without the aſſiſtance of government. In ſome caſes, men require to be encouraged, and it is chiefly, as in the preſent inſtance, when they are afraid of being denied that protection which they ſtand in need of, or apprehenſive that favours may be granted to others, which may be injurious to them. Government would find it their intereſt to encourage this aſſociation, as it is certainly the ſureſt, if not the only way to procure at the moſt reaſonable prices, the India goods that are wanted for home conſumption, and for exportation. This truth will appear more ſtriking from a very ſimple inſtance.

LET us ſuppoſe a merchant, who freights a ſhip for India with a conſiderable ſtock. Will he commiſſion ſeveral agents at the ſame place to buy the goods he wants? This cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed; becauſe he will be ſenſible, that each of them endeavouring to execute his orders with as much ſecreſy as poſſible, they would neceſſarily injure one another, and muſt conſequently enhance the price of the goods; ſo that he would have a leſs quantity of the commodity for the ſame ſum than if he had employed but one agent. The application is eaſy; government is the merchant, and the company is the agent.

WE

BOOK V.

We have now proved only that in the India trade, the nature of things requires that the ſubjects of one country ſhould unite into one company, both for their own intereſt and for that of the ſtate; but nothing has yet appeared, from whence it can be inferred that this company muſt be an excluſive one. We imagine, on the contrary, that the excluſive privilege always granted to theſe companies, depends on particular cauſes which have no eſſential connection with this trade.

When the ſeveral nations in Europe began to find that it was their intereſt to take a part in the trade of India, which individuals refuſed to do, though none were excluded from it, they found themſelves under a neceſſity of forming companies, and giving them every encouragement that ſo difficult an undertaking required. Capitals were advanced to them; they were inveſted with all the attributes of ſovereign power; permitted to ſend ambaſſadors; and empowered to make peace and war; a privilege which, unfortunately for them and for mankind, they have too often exerciſed. It was found neceſſary at the ſame time to ſecure to them the means of indemnifying themſelves for the expences of ſettlements which muſt be very conſiderable. This gave riſe to excluſive privileges, which at firſt were granted for a term of years, and afterwards made perpetual, from circumſtances which we ſhall now explain.

The brilliant prerogatives granted to the companies, were in fact ſo many impediments to trade. The right of having fortreſſes, implied the

the neceſſity of building and defending them: that of having troops, implied the obligation of paying and recruiting them. It was the ſame with regard to the permiſſion of ſending ambaſſadors, and concluding treaties with the Indian princes. All theſe privileges were attended with expences merely of parade, fit only to check the progreſs of trade, and to intoxicate the agents and factors ſent by the companies into India, who on their arrival fancied themſelves ſovereigns, and acted accordingly.

NATIONS, however, found it very convenient to have ſome kind of ſettlements in Aſia, which apparently were attended with no coſt; and as it was reaſonable, while the companies bore all the expences, that all the profits ſhould be ſecured to them, the privileges have been continued. But if the ſeveral nations, inſtead of attending only to this pretended œconomy, which could be but temporary, had extended their views to futurity, and connected all the events which muſt naturally be brought about in the courſe of a number of years, they muſt have foreſeen that the expences of ſovereignty which can never be aſcertained, becauſe they depend upon numberleſs political contingencies, would in time abſorb both the profits and the ſtock of a trading company: that then the public treaſury muſt be exhauſted to aſſiſt the chartered company, and that this aſſiſtance being granted too late, could only remedy the miſchiefs that had already happened, without removing the cauſe of them, ſo that the companies would never riſe to any degree of importance.

BUT

BOOK V.

But why ſhould not ſtates at length be undeceived? Why ſhould they not take upon themſelves a charge which properly belongs to them, and the burden of which, after having cruſhed the companies, muſt finally fall upon them? There would be then no further need of an excluſive privilege. The companies which ſubſiſt at preſent, and are of great importance on account of their old connections and eſtabliſhed credit, ſhould be ſupported with the greateſt care. The appearance of monopoly would vaniſh for ever, and their freedom might enable them to purſue ſome new track, which they could not think of, whilſt they were encumbered with the charges annexed to the charter. On the other hand, commerce, being open to all the members of the community, would proſper and flouriſh by their induſtry, new diſcoveries would be attempted, and new enterprizes formed. The trade from one part of India to another having the certainty of a market in Europe, would become conſiderable and extenſive. The companies attentive to theſe improvements, would regulate their dealings by the ſucceſs of private trade; and this emulation, which would not be injurious to any individual, would be beneficial to the ſeveral ſtates.

We apprehend this ſyſtem would tend to reconcile all intereſts, and is conſiſtent with all principles. It ſeems to be liable to no reaſonable objection, either on the part of the advocates for the excluſive charter, or of thoſe who contend for a free trade.

If

If the former ſhould aſſert, that the companies without the excluſive charter would have but a precarious exiſtence, and would ſoon be ruined by private traders; I ſhould anſwer them, that they were not ſincere, when they affirmed that private trade could never ſucceed. For, if it could poſſibly occaſion the ruin of that of the companies, as they now pretend, it can only effect this by engroſſing every branch of their trade againſt their will, by a ſuperiority of powers, and by the aſcendent of liberty. Beſides, what is it that really conſtitutes our companies? It is their ſtock, their ſhips, their factories, or their excluſive charter. What is it that has always ruined them? Extravagant expences, abuſes of every kind, viſionary undertakings; in a word, bad adminiſtration, far more deſtructive than competition. But if the diſtribution of their powers is made with prudence and œconomy; if the ſpirit of property directs their operations, there is no obſtacle which they cannot ſurmount, no ſucceſs which they may not expect.

But would not this ſucceſs give umbrage to the advocates for freedom? Would they not in their turn urge, that thoſe rich and powerful companies would alarm private men, and in ſome meaſure deſtroy that general and abſolute freedom which is ſo neceſſary to trade?

We ſhould not be ſurpriſed at this objection from them; for men, both in their actions and opinions, are more commonly guided by ſyſtem than by facts. I do not except from this error the greateſt part of our writers upon revenue.
Commercial

Commercial and civil liberty are the two tutelar deities of mankind, which we all reverence as well as they. But that we may not be influenced by mere words, let us attend to the idea they are meant to convey. Let us aſk thoſe enthuſiaſts for liberty, what they would wiſh; whether they would have the laws entirely aboliſh thoſe ancient companies, that every citizen might freely partake of this trade, and ſhould equally have the ſame means of procuring the enjoyments of life, and the ſame reſources to raiſe a fortune. But if ſuch laws, with all their appearance of liberty, are in fact totally excluſive, let us not be induced by this falſe reaſoning to adopt them. When the ſtate allows all its members to carry on a trade that requires a large ſtock, and which conſequently very few are able to undertake, I would aſk what advantage ariſes to the people in general from this regulation. It ſeems as if one meant to laugh at their credulity, in permitting them to undertake what they cannot execute. If the companies are totally ſuppreſſed, there will be no India trade, or it will be only carried on by a few capital merchants.

I WILL go further ſtill, and, waving the conſideration of the excluſive charter, venture to affirm that the India companies, from the nature of their formation, have given opportunities to ſeveral people to become ſharers in their trade, who would otherwiſe never have been concerned in it. Let us take a review of the number of perſons in all ſtations and of all ages, that are proprietors, and partake of the profits of the trade, and

and it muſt be owned, that it would have been far more circumſcribed if it had been in private hands; that the formation of companies has only diffuſed while it ſeemed to reſtrain it; and that the moderate price of the ſhares muſt be a powerful motive to the people, to wiſh for the preſervation of an eſtabliſhment, which opens to them a track from which they would for ever have been excluded by a free trade.

WE believe, indeed, that both companies and private men might equally ſucceed without injuring one another, or creating any mutual jealouſies. The companies might ſtill purſue thoſe great objects, which, by their nature and extent, can only be managed by a wealthy and powerful aſſociation. Private men, on the contrary, would confine themſelves to ſuch objects as are ſcarcely attended to by a great company, but might, by proper œconomy, and the combination of many ſmall fortunes, become a ſource of riches to them.

STATESMEN, who by their talents are called to the direction of public affairs, muſt determine this point, and rectify the ideas of an obſcure citizen, who may have been miſled by his want of experience. The ſyſtem of politics cannot too ſoon nor too deeply be applied to regulate a trade which ſo eſſentially concerns the fate of nations, and will, probably, always be an object of the greateſt importance.

TO put an end to all intercourſe between Europe and India, that luxury which has made ſuch rapid progreſs in our part of the world, ſhould be baniſhed from every ſtate. Our effeminacy ſhould

not create a thousand wants, unknown to our forefathers. The rivalship of trade should no longer agitate the several nations who vie with each other in amassing riches. Such a revolution should take place in the manners, customs, and opinions of men, as is never likely to happen. We should regulate our actions according to the principles of nature, which we seem to have abandoned for ever.

SUCH are the last reflections suggested to us with respect to the connections of Europe with Asia: let us now turn our thoughts to America.

BOOK VI.

Discovery of America. Conquest of Mexico; and settlements of the Spaniards in that part of the new world.

BOOK VI.

Parallel of ancient and modern history.

ANCIENT history presents a magnificent scene to our view. The successive representation of great revolutions, heroic manners, and extraordinary events will become more and more interesting, the more uncommon it is to meet with incidents that bear any resemblance to them. The period of founding and of subverting empires is past. The man before whom *the world was silent*, is no more. The several nations of the earth, after repeated shocks, after all the struggles between ambition and liberty, seem at length totally reconciled with the wretched tranquillity of servitude. Battles are now fought with cannon for the purpose of taking a few towns, and of gratifying the caprices of a few powerful men: formerly they were fought with the sword, in order to overthrow and to establish kingdoms, or to avenge the natural rights of mankind. The history of the world is become insipid and trifling, and yet men are not become more happy. A regular and constant system of oppression has succeeded to the tumults and storms of conquest; and we behold with

with a degree of indifference the various ranks of ſlaves combating each other with their chains for the amuſement of their maſters.

EUROPE, that part of the globe, which has moſt influence over the reſt, ſeems to have fixed itſelf on a ſolid and durable foundation. It is compoſed of communities that are almoſt equally powerful, enlightened, extenſive, and jealous. They will encroach perpetually upon each other; and in the midſt of this continued fluctuation, ſome will be extended, others more limited, and the balance will alternately incline to different ſides, without ever being entirely deſtroyed. The fanaticiſm of religion, and the ſpirit of conqueſt, thoſe two diſturbers of the univerſe, operate no longer. That great machine, whoſe extremity was attached to the earth, and whoſe center of motion was in heaven, is now broken; and kings begin to diſcover (though not for the happineſs of their people, for whom they have very little care, but for their own private intereſt) that the great end of government is to obtain riches and ſecurity. Hence large armies are kept up, frontiers are fortified, and trade is encouraged.

A SPIRIT of barter and exchange hath ariſen in Europe, that ſeems to open a vaſt ſcene of ſpeculation to individuals, but is only conſiſtent with peace and tranquillity. A war, among commercial nations, is a conflagration that deſtroys them all; it is a law-ſuit which threatens the fortune of a great merchant, and makes all his creditors tremble. The time is not far off, when the tacit ſanction of government will extend to the private engage-

engagements between ſubjects of different nations; and when thoſe bankruptcies, the effects of which are felt at immenſe diſtances, will become concerns of government. In theſe mercantile ſtates, the diſcovery of an iſland, the importation of a new commodity, the invention of ſome uſeful machine, the conſtruction of a port, the eſtabliſhment of a factory, the carrying off a branch of trade from a rival nation, will all become the moſt important tranſactions; and the annals of nations muſt hereafter be written by commercial philoſophers, as they were formerly by hiſtorical orators.

THE diſcovery of a new world was alone ſufficient to furniſh matter for our curioſity. A vaſt continent entirely uncultivated, human nature reduced to the mere animal ſtate, fields without harveſts, treaſures without proprietors, ſocieties without policy, and men without manners, what an intereſting and inſtructive ſpectacle would theſe have formed for a Locke, a Buffon, or a Monteſquieu! What could have been ſo aſtoniſhing, ſo delightful, ſo affecting as an account of their voyage! But the image of rude unpoliſhed nature is already disfigured. We ſhall endeavour to collect the features of it, though now half effaced, as ſoon as we have made the reader acquainted with thoſe rapacious and cruel chriſtians, whom unfortunately chance conducted to this further hemiſphere.

Ancient revolutions of Spain.

SPAIN, which was known in the firſt ages under the names of Heſperia and Iberia, was inhabited by people, who, defended on one ſide by the ſea, and on the other by the Pyrenees, enjoyed in peace an agreeable climate and a fruitful country, and who

governed themſelves according to their own cuſtoms. The ſouthern part of this nation had in ſome degree emerged from its ſtate of barbariſm, by ſome trifling connections it had formed with foreigners; but the inhabitants on the coaſts of the ocean reſembled all thoſe nations, which know no other occupation but that of the chace. They were ſo much attached to this kind of life, that they left the toils of agriculture to their wives; the fatigues of which they had encouraged them to ſupport by eſtabliſhing general aſſemblies annually, in which thoſe women who had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the labours of agriculture, received public applauſe.

Such was the ſituation of Spain, when the Carthaginians turned their rapacious views upon a country filled with riches, which were unknown to its inhabitants. Theſe merchants, whoſe ſhips covered the Mediterranean, introduced themſelves as friends, who came to barter ſeveral articles of convenience againſt metals that were thought to be uſeleſs. The temptations of a trade ſo advantageous in appearance, ſeduced the Spaniards ſo powerfully, that they permitted the Carthaginians to build upon their coaſts houſes for their occaſional reſidence, magazines for the ſecurity of their merchandiſe, and temples for the exerciſe of their religion. Theſe eſtabliſhments inſenſibly became fortified places, of which this power, whoſe policy was ſuperior to its military ſkill, availed itſelf to enſlave a credulous people, who were always divided among themſelves, and always irreconcileable in their enmities. By bribing ſome and intimidating

intimidating others, Carthage ſucceeded in ſubduing Spain, and even effected this with Spaniſh ſoldiers and Spaniſh wealth.

WHEN the Carthaginians were become maſters of the moſt extenſive and moſt valuable part of this fine country, they ſeemed either to be ignorant of the means of eſtabliſhing their dominion there, or to neglect them. Inſtead of continuing to appropriate to themſelves the gold and ſilver, with which the conquered nations were abundantly ſupplied from their mines, by exchanging commodities of little value for thoſe metals, they choſe to ſeize them by force. Nor was this ſpirit of tyranny confined to the body of the republic: the generals, the officers, the private men and even the merchants acted upon the ſame principle. The violence of theſe proceedings threw the conquered provinces into a ſtate of deſpair, and excited in thoſe which were yet free, an extreme averſion for ſo intolerable a yoke. In this ſituation they all of them reſolved to accept of aſſiſtance, as fatal to them as their injuries were cruel. Spain became a theatre of jealouſy, ambition and hatred between Rome and Carthage.

THE two commonwealths contended with great obſtinacy for the empire of this beautiful part of Europe; and, perhaps, it would finally have belonged to neither of them, if the Spaniards had continued quiet ſpectators of the conteſt, and left the rival nations time to deſtroy each other. But they choſe to become actors in the bloody ſcene, and thus reduced themſelves to be ſlaves to the

Romans, in which ſtate they remained till the fifth century.

In a ſhort time the degeneracy of thoſe maſters of the world inſpired the ſavage nations of the north with the enterpriſing idea of invading the provinces that were ill governed and ill defended. The Suevi, the Alani, the Vandals and the Goths paſſed the Pyrenean mountains. Theſe barbarians being robbers by profeſſion, were incapable of becoming citizens, and made war upon each other. The Goths, ſuperior in abilities or good fortune, ſubdued the reſt, and reduced all the kingdoms of Spain into one; which, notwithſtanding the defects in its conſtitution, and the unbounded extortions of the Jews, who were the only merchants, ſupported itſelf till the commencement of the eighth century.

At this period, the Moors, who had ſubdued Africa with that impetuoſity which was the characteriſtic of all their enterprizes, croſſed the ſea. They found in Spain a king deſtitute of virtue and abilities; a multitude of courtiers, and no ſtateſmen; ſoldiers devoid of courage, and generals without experience; an effeminate people, holding the government in contempt, and diſpoſed to change their maſter; and they alſo found rebels, who joined them for the ſake of plundering, burning, and maſſacring all that oppoſed them. In leſs than three years, the ſovereignty of the chriſtians was deſtroyed, and that of the infidels eſtabliſhed upon a ſolid foundation.

Spain

Spain was indebted to its conquerors for the first principles of taste, humanity, politeness, and philosophy; as also for introducing among them several arts, and a considerable trade. These brilliant prospects were not of long duration. They were soon dissipated by the numberless sects that arose among the conquerors, and the irreparable faults they committed in establishing distinct sovereigns in all the principal towns of their dominion.

During this time the Goths, who, to screen themselves from the power of the Mohammedans, had sought an asylum in the extremity of the Asturias, were labouring under the yoke of anarchy, plunged in a barbarous state of ignorance, opprest by their fantastical priests, languishing under inexpressible poverty, and perpetually harrassed by civil wars. Under the influence of these calamities, far from thinking to avail themselves of the divisions subsisting among their enemies, they were sufficiently happy in being forgotten, or in not being known by them. But as soon as the crown, which was originally elective, became hereditary in the tenth century; as soon as the nobility and bishops became incapable of disturbing the state; and that the people raised from slavery were admitted to a share of the government, the national spirit began to revive. The Arabians, attacked on every side, were successively stripped of their conquests; and at the end of the fifteenth century they had but one little kingdom remaining.

Their fall would have been more rapid, had they engaged with a power that could have united in

in one common center the conquefts it gained over them. But the revolution was not effected in this manner. The Mohammedans were attacked by different chiefs, each of which was at the head of a diftinct ftate. Spain was divided into as many kingdoms as it contained provinces; and it was not till after a long time, feveral fucceffions, wars and revolutions, that thefe fmall ftates were at laft united in the two monarchies of Caftile and Arragon. After this the marriage of Ifabella with Ferdinand having happily joined all the crowns of Spain into one family, they found themfelves equal to the enterprife of attacking the kingdom of Granada.

THIS ftate, which fcarcely occupied one eighth part of the peninfula of Spain, had always been in a flourifhing condition from the time of the invafion of the Saracens: but its profperity had increafed in proportion as the fucceffes of the chriftians had induced a greater number of infidels to take refuge there. It confifted of three millions of inhabitants. Throughout the reft of Europe there were no lands fo well cultivated; fo numerous and improved manufactures; fo regular and fo extenfive a navigation. The public revenues amounted to feven millions of livres *; a prodigious fum at a time when gold and filver were very fcarce.

THESE feveral advantages, far from deterring the monarchs of Caftile and Arragon from invading Granada, were the motives that principally

* About 306,000l.

incited

incited them to the enterpriſe. They were obliged to carry on a ten years bloody war in order to ſubdue this flouriſhing province. The conqueſt of it was completed by the ſurrender of the capital in the beginning of January, 1492.

Columbus forms the deſign of diſcovering America.

IT was in theſe glorious circumſtances, that Chriſtopher Columbus, a man of obſcure birth, whoſe knowledge of aſtronomy and navigation was far ſuperior to that of his cotemporaries, propoſed to the Spaniards, who were happy at home, to aggrandize themſelves abroad. He was led by a ſecret impulſe to imagine that another continent certainly exiſted, and that he was the perſon deſtined to diſcover it. The idea of Antipodes, which ſuperſtition had condemned as heretical and impious, and reaſon itſelf had treated as chimerical, appeared to this penetrating genius to have its foundation in truth. This idea, perhaps the greateſt that ever entered into the human mind, took ſtrong poſſeſſion of his imagination, and having in vain propoſed the acquiſition of a new hemiſphere to his native country Genoa, to Portugal where he then reſided, and even to England, which he might have expected would readily have concurred in any maritime enterpriſe; he at laſt communicated his views and his projects to Iſabella.

THE miniſters of this princeſs, who looked upon the ſcheme of diſcovering a new world as the offſpring of a diſtempered brain, treated the author of it for ſome time with thoſe airs of contemptuous inſolence, which men in office often put on with thoſe who have nothing but genius to recommend them. But Columbus was not to be diſcouraged by

by any difficulties: he poſſeſſed, as all men do who engage in extraordinary enterpriſes, a degree of enthuſiaſm, which renders them ſuperior to the cavils of the ignorant, the contempt of the proud, the mean arts of the covetous, and the delays of the indolent. At length by perſeverance, ſpirit and courage, joined to the arts of prudence and management, he ſurmounted every obſtacle. Having obtained three ſmall veſſels, and ninety men; he ſet ſail on the third of Auguſt 1492, with the title of admiral and viceroy of the iſlands and territories he ſhould diſcover.

Having ſailed a conſiderable length of time, the ſhips crews, terrified with the idea of the immenſe tract of ocean which lay between them and their native country, began to deſpair of the ſucceſs of their undertaking. Their diſcontent roſe to that height, that they more than once formed the deſign of throwing Columbus over-board, and returning to Spain. The admiral concealed his chagrin as long as he could: but when he found that a mutiny was ready to break out, he aſſured his companions, that if he did not diſcover land in three days, he would ſail back to Europe. For ſome time paſt, on ſounding, he had found a bottom, and from other circumſtances, which are ſeldom deceitful, he had reaſon to conclude that he was not far from land.

Arrival of Columbus in the new world.

The new world was diſcovered in the month of October. Columbus landed on one of the Lucayas or Bahama iſlands, which he called San-Salvador, and took poſſeſſion of it in the name of Iſabella. The Spaniards at that time did not conceive that

there

there could be any injuſtice in ſeizing upon a country, which was not inhabited by chriſtians.

THE iſlanders on ſeeing the ſhips, and a race of men ſo different from their own, were terrified and ran away. The Spaniards caught ſome of them; treated them with great civility, and diſmiſſed them loaded with preſents.

THIS behaviour intirely diſſipated the fears of the whole nation: the inhabitants appeared upon the ſhore without arms. Several of them came on board. They viewed every thing with admiration. Their manners were free and open. They brought fruits. They aſſiſted the Spaniards in getting on ſhore, by taking them upon their ſhoulders. The inhabitants of the neighbouring iſlands ſhewed the ſame obliging diſpoſition. The ſailors ſent by Columbus to make diſcoveries, every where met with the kindeſt reception. Men, women, and children, were employed in procuring proviſions for them. They filled the hammocks where they ſlept, with the fineſt cotton. But it was gold that the Spaniards wanted, and they ſoon found it. Several of the ſavages wore ornaments made of this precious metal, which they preſented to their new gueſts; who on their part were more diſguſted with the naked appearance and ſimplicity of theſe people, than touched with their kindneſs. They were incapable of diſcerning in them the genuine characters of nature. Surprized to find men of a copper colour without beards or hair on their bodies, they looked upon them as a race of imperfect animals, who were only to be treated with humanity, till the neceſſary information was obtained

BOOK VI.

tained in regard to the neighbouring countries, and the gold mines.

Having taken a view of several smaller islands, Columbus landed on the north side of a large one called by the natives Hayti; to which he gave the name of Hispaniola, and which is now called San Domingo: he was conducted thither by some savages of the other islands, who accompanied him without the least distrust, and gave him to understand, that it was the great island which furnished them with the metal the Spaniards were so eager to acquire.

Customs of the people of Hayti, since known by the name of Hispaniola.

The island of Hayti, which is two hundred leagues in length, and sixty, and in some places eighty in breadth, is divided from east to west by a chain of mountains, which occupy the center of the island, and are for the most part steep. It was distributed into five populous kingdoms, the inhabitants of which lived in perfect amity. Their kings, who were called Caciques, were so much the more absolute, as they were much beloved. The complexion of these people was much fairer than in the other islands. They painted their bodies. The men went quite naked. The married women wore a kind of cotton petticoat, which reached no further than their knees. The girls, as well as the men, were naked. Their food was maize, roots, fruit, and shell-fish. As they were temperate, nimble and active, but not strong, they were averse from labour. They lived free from care in a state of agreeable indolence. Their time was spent in dancing, diversion and sleep. By the accounts the Spaniards give of them, they shewed

ſhewed little marks of underſtanding: and indeed iſlanders, who live in a ſtate of ſeparation from the reſt of mankind, muſt of neceſſity have very confined ideas. Detached ſocieties arrive at improvement by ſlow and difficult advances. They derive no advantages from thoſe diſcoveries, which time and experience throw in the way of other people: neither do the chances of acquiring knowledge occur ſo frequently among them.

THE Spaniards themſelves confeſs that theſe people were humane, void of malice and revenge, and almoſt diveſted of any paſſion whatever. They were ignorant, but ſhewed no deſire of being informed. This indifference and the confidence they repoſed in ſtrangers, prove that they were happy. Their hiſtory and their notions of morality were contained in a collection of ſongs, which they learned from their infancy: and they had in common with all nations ſome fables concerning the origin of the human race.

WE know little of their religion, to which they were not much attached; and it is probable that in this reſpect as well as in many others they have been calumniated by the authors of their deſtruction; who pretend that theſe iſlanders, whoſe manners were ſo gentle, paid adoration to a number of malevolent beings. The worſhippers of a malevolent deity can never be good themſelves.

THEY had no law that limited the number of their wives. It was common for one of them to have ſome privileges and diſtinctions allotted to her; but theſe gave her no authority over the reſt. She was one whom the huſband loved the beſt, and by

by whom he thought himſelf beſt beloved. On the death of her huſband, ſhe ſometimes cauſed herſelf to be buried in the ſame grave with him. This was not a cuſtom, a duty, or a point of honour among theſe people: but the wife found it impoſſible to ſurvive the object of her tendereſt affection. This freedom in love and marriage, which was authorized by their laws and manners, was by the Spaniards called debauchery, licentiouſneſs, and vice: and to the pretended exceſſive indulgence of the iſlanders in this particular, they attributed the riſe of a diſtemper, which, as a philoſophical phyſician has lately demonſtrated in a treatiſe on the origin of the venereal diſeaſe, was known in Europe before the diſcovery of America.

THESE iſlanders had no other weapons than a bow and arrows made of wood, the point of which being hardened in the fire, was ſometimes armed with ſharp ſtones, or the bone of a fiſh. The ordinary dreſs of the Spaniards was of itſelf an impenetrable armour againſt arrows of this kind, ſhot with little dexterity. Theſe weapons and ſome ſmall clubs or rather large ſticks, which could ſeldom give a mortal blow, were far from making theſe people formidable.

THEY were diſtinguiſhed into different claſſes, one of which laid claim to a kind of nobility: but we are little acquainted either with the prerogatives annexed to this diſtinction, or with the means of obtaining it. This ignorant and ſavage people had alſo ſorcerers among them, who were always either the offspring or parents of ſuperſtition.

COLUMBUS

Columbus omitted no attention that might engage the friendſhip of theſe iſlanders. But at the ſame time he made them ſenſible, that though he had no inclination to hurt them, he did not want the power. The proofs he gave in their preſence of the ſurpriſing effects of his artillery, convinced them of the truth of what he ſaid. They looked upon the Spaniards as men deſcended from heaven, and the preſents they received, were, in their eſtimation, not meer curioſities, but ſacred things. This error was productive of great advantages: nor was it removed by any act of folly or cruelty. They gave the ſavages red caps, glaſs beads, pins, knives, and bells, and received in return gold and proviſions.

Columbus availed himſelf of this harmony to fix upon a place for a ſettlement, which he deſigned ſhould be the center of all his future projects. He erected a fort with the aſſiſtance of the iſlanders, who chearfully laboured to forge chains for themſelves. He left thirty-nine Caſtilians in the place; and having reconnoitred the greateſt part of the iſland, ſailed for Spain.

He arrived at Palos, a port of Andaluſia, from whence he had ſet ſail ſeven months before. He proceeded by land to Barcelona, where the court reſided. This journey was a triumph. The nobility and the people went to meet him, and followed him in crouds to the preſence of Ferdinand and Iſabella. He preſented to them ſome iſlanders, who had voluntarily accompanied him. He produced pieces of gold, birds, cotton, and many curioſities, which were valuable on account of

their novelty. Such a variety of uncommon objects exposed to the view of a people, whose vanity inflamed by imagination magnified every thing, made them fancy that they saw an inexhaustible source of riches for ever flowing into their country. The enthusiasm spread and reached even to the throne. At the public audience the sovereigns gave to Columbus, he was permitted to be covered, and to sit as a grandee of Spain. He related his voyage to them. They loaded him with caresses, commendations, and honours; and soon after he reimbarked with seventeen sail to make new discoveries, and to establish colonies.

On his arrival at San Domingo with fifteen hundred soldiers, three hundred artificers, missionaries, corn, fruits, and such domestic animals as were unknown in the new world; Columbus found his fortress demolished, and all the Spaniards massacred. It appeared on examination clear to Columbus, that they had drawn this misfortune upon themselves by their haughty, licentious, and tyrannical behaviour: and he had the address to persuade those who had less moderation than himself, that it was good policy to postpone their revenge to another time. They employed themselves entirely in scrutinizing the mines, the working of which was one day to cost so much blood, and in building forts in the neighbourhood with sufficient garrisons to protect their labours.

Cruelties exercised towards the Indians at Hispaniola.

In the mean time, the provisions that had been brought from Europe, were spoilt by the damp heat of the climate; and the few hands sent over for the purpose of raising vegetables in a country

so

ſo favourable to their growth, were either dead, or diſabled by ſickneſs. The military men were deſired to ſupply their place; but they diſdained an employment that was to procure them ſubſiſtence. Indolence began then to be an honourable diſtinction in Spain. To do nothing was eſteemed the characteriſtic of a gentleman: and the meaneſt ſoldier choſe to live in the high ſtile, in a country where he found himſelf independent. The iſlanders offered them every thing, but they required more. They were perpetually aſking them for proviſions and gold. In ſhort, theſe unfortunate people at laſt grew tired of gardening, hunting, fiſhing, and working in the mines to gratify the inſatiable Spaniards: and from that moment they were conſidered in no other light, but that of traitors and rebellious ſlaves, whoſe lives might be taken away at pleaſure.

Columbus finding that the Indians were exaſperated by this barbarous treatment, returned from purſuing his diſcoveries, in hopes of bringing the parties to a reconciliation: but the mutinous clamours of a fierce and rapacious ſoldiery drove him into hoſtilities, which were contrary to his ſentiments both as a man and as a politician. With two hundred foot and twenty horſe, he ventured to attack an army ſaid to conſiſt of a hundred thouſand men, on the ſpot where the city of St. Jago was afterwards built.

The unhappy Indians were conquered before they engaged. They conſidered the Spaniards as beings of a ſuperior order. Their admiration, reſpect and fear, were increaſed by the European

armour: and the ſight of the cavalry in particular, aſtoniſhed them beyond meaſure. Many of them were ſimple enough to believe that the man and the horſe were the ſame animal, or a kind of deity. Had their courage even been proof againſt theſe impreſſions of terror, they could have made but a faint reſiſtance. The cannonading, the pikes, and a diſcipline to which they were ſtrangers, muſt have eaſily diſperſed them. They fled on all ſides. They demanded peace, which was granted them on condition that they ſhould cultivate the land for the Spaniards, and furniſh them with a certain quantity of gold every month.

THESE hard terms, and the cruelties that aggravated them, ſoon became inſupportable. To ſcreen themſelves from them, the iſlanders took refuge in the mountains, where they hoped to procure the ſmall ſubſiſtence their neceſſities required by hunting and gathering wild fruits, till their enemies, who each of them required more nouriſhment than ten Indians, finding themſelves deprived of proviſions, ſhould be obliged to repaſs the ſeas. But they were diſappointed in their expectations. The Caſtilians ſupported themſelves by the ſupplies they received from Europe, and purſued their horrid plan with more eagerneſs than ever. No place was inacceſſible to their rage. They trained their dogs to hunt and devour the unhappy inhabitants: and ſome of them made a vow to maſſacre twelve Indians every day in honour of the twelve Apoſtles. By theſe means a third part of theſe nations was deſtroyed. On their arrival, the iſland was ſuppoſed to contain a million

million of inhabitants. All accounts agree that this number is not exaggerated; and it is certain that the population was confiderable.

Those who did not fall a prey to mifery, fatigue, apprehenfion, and the fword, were forced to fubmit to the will of the conqueror, who exercifed his power with more rigour, as it was not now reftrained by the prefence of Columbus. This great man was returned to Spain to inform the court of the barbarities, which the character of the people under his command made it impoffible for him to prevent, and which the voyages he was perpetually engaged in, did not allow him to controul. During his abfence, the colony which he had left under his brother's command was torn by diffentions, animofities, and mutinies. No orders were obeyed, unlefs when fome cacique was to be dethroned, fome hord pillaged or demolifhed, or fome nation extirpated. The moment thefe favage troops had got poffeffion of the treafures of thefe unhappy people whom they had maffacred, the difturbances were renewed. The defire of independence, and the unequal diftribution of the fpoils, created diffentions among thefe rapacious conquerors. Authority was no longer refpected; the fubalterns paid as little regard to their commanders, as the commanders did to the laws: and open war at laft broke out among themfelves.

The Indians, who fometimes bore a part in thefe bloody and deteftable fcenes, and were always witneffes of them, recovered their courage a little. Their fimplicity did not prevent them from per-

ceiving that it was by no means impracticable to rid themſelves of a ſmall number of tyrants who appeared to have loſt ſight of their projects, and attended to nothing but the implacable hatred they bore to one another. Animated by this hope, they embarked in a confederacy which was managed with more art than could have been ſuſpected, and which had acquired conſiderable ſtrength. The Spaniards, who perſiſted in deſtroying each other, notwithſtanding they were threatened by ſo great a danger, would probably have fallen victims to their own obſtinacy, had not Columbus arrived from Europe at this critical juncture.

THE diſtinguiſhed reception he had met with there at firſt, had made but a tranſitory impreſſion upon the people: time, which brings on reflection when the firſt tranſports of enthuſiaſm are paſſed, had diſſipated that eagerneſs which had at firſt been ſhewn for expeditions to the new world. The report of the riches, and even the oſtentatious diſplay of the treaſures brought from thence, no longer revived the ſpirit of the people: on the contrary, the livid complexions of all thoſe who returned home; the ſevere and diſgraceful diſtempers with which moſt of them were afflicted; the accounts of the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate, of the numbers who had loſt their lives, and the hardſhips they had undergone from the ſcarcity of proviſions; an unwillingneſs to be under the command of a foreigner, who was blamed for the ſeverity of his diſcipline: and, perhaps, the jealouſy they entertained of his growing reputation;

tion; all theſe reaſons contributed to produce an inſuperable prejudice againſt San Domingo in the ſubjects of the province of Caſtile, the only Spaniards who were then allowed to embark for that iſland.

It was abſolutely neceſſary, however, to procure coloniſts: the admiral therefore propoſed to have recourſe to the priſons, and by reſcuing the vileſt malefactors from death and infamy, to make them the inſtruments of extending the power of their country, of which they had been the bane and diſgrace. This project would have been attended with fewer inconveniences in ſuch colonies as having gained a more ſolid eſtabliſhment, might by the force of their laws and the purity of their manners have reſtrained or corrected the exceſſes of a few licentious and profligate individuals. But infant ſtates require founders of a different character from a train of banditti. America will never get rid of the remains of that alloy which debaſed the firſt colonies that were tranſported thither from Europe. Columbus ſoon experienced the ill effects of the injudicious advice he had given.

Had this enterpriſing ſeaman carried out with him men of the common ſtamp, he might, during the voyage, have inſpired them with honeſt principles at leaſt, if not with high notions of honour. Theſe perſons on their arrival would have conſtituted a majority, and the reſt would have been forced, or perhaps inclined to adopt the examples of moderation and obedience they would have ſet them. Such a harmony would have been pro-

ductive of the moſt ſalutary effects, and have eſtabliſhed the colony on the moſt ſolid foundation. The Indians would have been treated in a better manner the mines worked to greater advantage, and the taxes more eaſily levied. The mother-country, animated by this ſucceſs to the greateſt attempts, might have formed new ſettlements, which would have augmented the glory, the wealth, and the power of Spain. Theſe important events, which might have been brought forward in a few years, were rendered abortive by this ſingle piece of miſmanagement.

THE malefactors who accompanied Columbus, in conjunction with the plunderers at San Domingo, formed a ſociety the moſt abandoned imaginable. They were ſtrangers to ſubordination, decency, and humanity. The admiral in particular was the object of their reſentment, who perceived too late the falſe ſtep he had taken himſelf; or into which, perhaps, he had been betrayed by his enemies. This extraordinary man purchaſed upon very hard terms the fame which his genius and induſtry had procured him. His life exhibited a perpetual contraſt between thoſe incidents which either elate or depreſs the mind of a conqueror. He was not only continually expoſed to cabals, calumnies, and the ingratitude of individuals, but was alſo obliged to ſubmit to the caprices of a haughty and ſuſpicious court, which by turns rewarded or puniſhed, careſſed or diſgraced him.

THE prejudice entertained by the Spaniſh miniſtry againſt the author of the greateſt diſcovery ever

ever made, operated ſo far, that an arbitrator was ſent to the new world, to decide between Columbus and his ſoldiers. Bovadilla, the moſt ambitious, ſelf-intereſted, unjuſt, and violent man that had yet gone over to America, arrived at San Domingo, put the admiral in irons, and had him conducted to Spain like the worſt of criminals. The court, aſhamed of ſo ignominious a treatment, granted him his liberty; but without redreſſing the injury he had received, or reſtoring him to his employments. Such was the fate of this uncommon man, who, to the aſtoniſhment of Europe, added a fourth part to the earth, or rather half a world to this globe, which had been ſo long deſolate, and ſo little known. It might reaſonably have been expected that public gratitude would have given the name of this intrepid ſeaman to the new hemiſphere, the firſt diſcovery of which was owing to his enterpriſing genius. This was the leaſt homage of reſpect that could be paid to his memory: but either through envy, inattention, or the caprice of fortune in the diſtribution of fame, this honour was reſerved for Americus Veſpucius, a Florentine, who did nothing more than follow the footſteps of a man whoſe name ought to ſtand foremoſt in the liſt of great characters. Thus the very æra which added America to the known world, was diſtinguiſhed by an inſtance of injuſtice, that may be conſidered as a fatal prelude to thoſe ſcenes of violence, of which this unhappy country was afterwards to be the theatre.

After the diſgrace of Columbus, and the death of Iſabella, theſe abuſes became more frequent.

The iſlanders, though condemned to the exceſſive labours of vaſſalage, which often proved fatal to them, and to pay the moſt exorbitant fines, had hitherto continued to live in their hords, after the manner of the country, and under the government of their caciques. In the year 1506, Ferdinand was petitioned to make a diſtribution of theſe people among the conquerors, that they might be employed in the mines, or in any other kinds of labour, that tyranny might think proper to impoſe. Religion and political views were the two pretences made uſe of to palliate this inhuman plan. It was urged, that ſo long as theſe ſavages were tolerated in their ſuperſtitions, they would never embrace chriſtianity; and would always be in a diſpoſition to revolt, unleſs their diſperſion put it out of their power to make any attempt. The monarch relying on the opinion of the clergy, whoſe intolerant principles always lead them into violent meaſures, complied with the requeſt that was made him. The whole iſland was divided into a great number of diſtricts. Every Spaniard, whether a native of Caſtile or Arragon, was indiſcriminately allotted a larger or ſmaller part, in proportion to his rank, intereſt, or birth. The Indians aſſigned to each diſtrict from this inſtant became ſlaves, whoſe ſervices and lives were at the diſpoſal of their maſters. This cruel ſyſtem was afterwards adopted in all the ſettlements in the new world.

THE produce of the mines was now more certain. At firſt one half belonged to the crown.

This

This claim was afterwards reduced to one third, and at length limited to a fifth part.

The treaſures brought from San Domingo excited the avarice even of thoſe who would not venture to croſs the ſeas. The grandees, and thoſe who had employments in the ſtate, obtained grants of land by which they enriched themſelves without any trouble. They committed the care of them to agents who were to make their own fortunes, while they increaſed thoſe of their principals. Impoſſible as it ſeemed, there was now an augmentation of cruelties. In five years after this barbarous ſyſtem took place, the natives were reduced to fourteen thouſand, and the continent and the adjacent iſlands were ranſacked for ſavages to ſupply their place.

They were indiſcriminately chained together like beaſts. Thoſe who ſank under their burdens, were compelled to riſe by ſevere blows. No intercourſe paſſed between the ſexes but by ſtealth. The men periſhed in the mines, and the women in the fields, which they cultivated with their weak hands. Their conſtitutions, already exhauſted with exceſſive labour, were ſtill further impaired by an unwholeſome and ſcanty diet. The mothers expired with hunger and fatigue, preſſing their dead or dying infants to their breaſts, ſhrivelled and contracted for want of a proper ſupply of milk. The fathers either poiſoned themſelves, or hanged themſelves on thoſe very trees on which they had juſt before ſeen their wives or their children expire. The whole race became extinct.

The

The Spaniards, before their firſt ſettlements in the new world were laid waſte by theſe ſcenes of horror, had formed ſome of leſs note at Jamaica, Porto-Rico, and Cuba. Velaſquez, who founded the laſt of theſe, was deſirous that his colony ſhould enjoy, together with that of San Domingo, the advantage of making diſcoveries upon the continent, and he fixed upon Francis Hernandez of Cordova to conduct this glorious undertaking. He furniſhed him with three veſſels and a hundred and ten men, with permiſſion to erect forts, to bring off ſlaves, or to export gold at his own diſcretion. This voyage, which was made in 1517, was productive of no event except the diſcovery of the Yucatan.

John of Gryalva, who was ſent out the following year with a view of obtaining a more accurate knowledge of this country, diſcharged his commiſſion with ability; but he did not confine himſelf to this object: he ſurveyed the coaſt of Campeachy, purſued his voyage ſtill further north, and landed wherever he found a convenient ſpot. Though he did not always meet with a favourable reception, his expedition proved extremely ſucceſsful. He brought home a great quantity of gold, and acquired a ſufficient inſight into the extent, opulence, and ſtrength of Mexico.

Cortez ſets out for the conqueſt of Mexico. What happened to him off Tabaſco.

The conqueſt of this vaſt empire appeared too great an undertaking for a man of Gryalva's abilities. Fernando Cortez, who was more diſtinguiſhed on account of the expectations that were entertained of his future conduct, than by the great

great ſervices he had already performed, was unanimouſly fixed upon to carry this plan into execution. According to the repreſentation given of him by his adherents, it appears that he had ſuch an uncommon ſtrength of conſtitution, that he was able to undergo the greateſt fatigues; that he poſſeſſed the talent of eloquence in an eminent degree; a ſagacity which foreſaw every thing; a preſence of mind not to be diſturbed by the moſt unexpected events; that he was fruitful in expedients; that he knew how to reduce thoſe to ſubjection who refuſed to liſten to terms of accommodation; that he purſued with invariable ſteadineſs the point he had in view; and that he was animated with that enthuſiaſtic love of glory, which has ever been conſidered as the leading qualification in a hero. This advantageous idea of Cortez has long prevailed among the generality of people, whoſe judgments are, and muſt ever be regulated by the ſole ſtandard of ſucceſs. But ſince philoſophy has thrown a new light upon hiſtory, it is become a matter of doubt whether the faults of Cortez did not overbalance his great qualities.

Be this, however, as it may, Cortez, who was afterwards ſo celebrated, was no ſooner inveſted by Velaſquez with the command of the moſt important expedition that had hitherto been undertaken to the new world, than all men who felt a propenſity for acquiring fortune or fame crouded about him. Having ſurmounted the obſtacles which jealouſy and enmity threw in his way, he ſet ſail on the 10th of February 1519. His forces conſiſted

consisted of five hundred and eight soldiers, a hundred and nine sailors with their proper officers, some cavalry, and a small train of artillery. This armament, inconsiderable as it was, was not equipped by government, which only lent the sanction of its name to the attempts that were made to discover new countries, and form new settlements. These enterprises were all carried on at the expence of private persons, who were ruined if they failed in them; while their success enlarged the dominion of the mother-country. After the first expeditions, the state neither formed any plan, nor advanced any money, nor raised any troops. The thirst of gold, and the spirit of chivalry which still prevailed, were the only incitements to industry and activity. The influence of these, however, was so powerful, that not only the common people, but great numbers of distinguished rank flew with impatience to mix with savages in the torrid zone, and frequently in an unwholesome climate. There were, perhaps, at that time no people upon earth besides the Spaniards, so frugal, so much inured to fatigue, or so accustomed to the intemperature of a hot climate, as to be able to endure so many hardships.

Cortez, who possessed these qualities in an eminent degree, attacked the Indians at Tabasco as he marched along, defeated them in several engagements, granted them peace, entered into an alliance with them, and brought away several of their women, who were very glad to follow him. This readiness of theirs may be accounted for very naturally.

In

In America the men were in general addicted to that ſhameful kind of debauchery which ſhocks nature, and perverts animal inſtinct. This depravity has been attributed by ſome to natural weakneſs, which, however, ſhould rather ſeem to be contrary than incentive to it. It may rather be aſcribed to the heat of the climate; the contempt the men have for the ſofter ſex; the little pleaſure that can be experienced in the arms of a woman harraſſed with labour; the inconſtancy of taſte; the caprice which incites us in every particular to enjoyments that are leaſt common; and inſpires us with certain inordinate propenſities to voluptuouſneſs, more eaſy to be conceived, than explained with decency. Beſides, thoſe hunting parties, in which the men are frequently abſent from the women for two months, have alſo contributed to familiarize men more with each other. This vice is therefore in theſe countries nothing more than the conſequence of an univerſal and violent paſſion, which even in civilized nations tramples upon honour, virtue, decency, probity, the ties of conſanguinity, and patriotic ſentiment: beſides that there are ſome actions to which civilized people have with reaſon attached moral ideas, that never have entered into the minds of ſavages.

However this may be, the arrival of the Europeans raiſed new ideas in the American women. They threw themſelves without reſerve into the arms of theſe libidinous ſtrangers, who had inured themſelves to cruelty, and whoſe avaritious hands were drenched in blood. While the unfortunate remains of theſe ſavage nations were endeavouring to

to ſeparate themſelves from the ſword that purſued them, by immenſe tracts of deſerts, their women, who had been hitherto too much neglected, boldly trampling on the carcaſes of their children and of their murdered huſbands, went to ſeek their deſtroyers even in their camp, in order to intice them to ſhare the ardent tranſports with which they were devoured. This furious attachment of the American women for the Spaniards, may be reckoned among the cauſes that contributed to the conqueſt of the new world. Theſe women uſually ſerved them as guides, frequently procured them ſubſiſtence, and ſometimes betrayed conſpiracies to them.

THE moſt celebrated of theſe women was named Marina. Though ſhe was the daughter of a pretty powerful cacique, ſhe had been reduced, by ſome ſingular events, to a ſtate of ſlavery among the Mexicans from her earlieſt infancy. She had been brought by freſh incidents to Tabaſco before the arrival of the Spaniards. Struck with her figure and her charms, they ſoon diſtinguiſhed her from the reſt. Their general ſurrendered his heart to her, and at the ſame time excited a warm paſſion in her breaſt. In the midſt of amorous embraces ſhe readily learnt the Spaniſh language. Cortez on his part ſoon diſcovered the intelligent mind, and reſolute character of his miſtreſs; and not only made her his interpreter, but alſo his adviſer. All hiſtorians agree that ſhe acted a conſiderable part in every enterpriſe againſt Mexico.

REPORT

Cortez arrives at Mexico. His engagements with the province of Tlafcala.

Report fays, that this empire had not then been founded above a century. In order to prove a circumftance of fo little credibility, it is neceffary we fhould have other teftimony than that of the Spaniards, who had neither the ability, nor the will to examine any thing; and better authority than that of their fanatic priefts, who wanted to eftablifh their own fuperftitions, by abolifhing the worfhip of thefe people. What fhould we know of China, if the Portuguefe had been able to fet it on fire, overthrow or deftroy it, as they did the Brazils? Should we now converfe about the antiquity of its books, its laws, and its manners? When fome few philofophers have been allowed to penetrate into Mexico, there to find out and clear the ruins of their hiftory, and that thefe learned men fhall neither be monks nor Spaniards, but Englifh or Frenchmen, who will be allowed every liberty, and have all the means of getting at the truth; then perhaps we may learn, whether barbarifm has not deftroyed the antient monuments, that might have difcovered the traces of the antiquity of this country.

Our lights concerning the founders of the empire, are not more certain than thofe we have with refpect to the æra of its foundation. This is another of thofe facts the knowledge of which we have been deprived of by the ignorance of the Spaniards. Their credulous hiftorians have, indeed, told us in an uncertain and vague manner, that fome barbarians who formed a national body, iffuing from the north of this continent, had fucceeded in fubduing fucceffively fome favages born

under a milder ſky, and who either did not live in a ſocial ſtate, or formed only ſmall ſocieties.

ALL that we can affirm, is, that Montezuma was the ſovereign of Mexico, when the Spaniards landed on the coaſts of that empire. The monarch was ſoon informed of the arrival of theſe ſtrangers. Throughout this vaſt extent of kingdom, couriers were placed at different diſtances, who ſpeedily acquainted the court with every thing that happened in the moſt diſtant provinces. Their diſpatches were compoſed of pieces of cotton, upon which were delineated the ſeveral circumſtances of the affairs that required the attention of government. The figures were intermixed with hieroglyphic characters, which ſupplied what the art of the painter had not been able to expreſs.

IT was to be expected that a prince who had been raiſed to the throne by his valour, who had extended his empire by conqueſt, who was in poſſeſſion of numerous and diſciplined armies, would either ſend to attack, or would have marched himſelf to diſperſe a handful of adventurers, who dared to infeſt and plunder his dominions. But this ſtep was neglected; and the Spaniards, who had always an irreſiſtible turn to the marvellous, endeavoured to explain, by having recourſe to a miracle, a conduct ſo evidently oppoſite to the character of the monarch, and ſo incompatible with his ſituation. The writers of this ſuperſtitious nation have not ſcrupled to declare to the whole univerſe, that a little before the diſcovery of the new world, it had been foretold to the Mexicans, that an invincible people from the eaſt would

would ſoon come among them, who would in a memorable and terrible manner, avenge the gods irritated by their moſt horrid crimes, and particularly by that vice which is moſt repugnant to nature. This fatal prediction alone, they ſay, had faſcinated the underſtanding of Montezuma. By this impoſture, they have imagined that they ſhould gain the double advantage of juſtifying their uſurpations, and making heaven anſwerable for a part of their cruelties. This abſurd fable has for a long time obtained credit among ſome perſons in both hemiſpheres, and the infatuation is not ſo ſurpriſing as might at firſt be imagined. The reaſons of it will be made evident by a few reflections.

THE earth has ever been ſubject to revolutions. Beſides its diurnal and annual motion from weſt to eaſt, it may have another inſenſible as the lapſe of time which produces a revolution from north to ſouth; and which the moderns have juſt begun to diſcover, without pretending, however, either to calculate the beginning of it, or to trace its continuation.

THIS inclination of the earth is only a ſeeming one, if it be owing to the heavens, which by a ſlow motion proportioned to the magnitude of their orbs, attract and draw after them the ſun towards the pole: but it is a real one, if our globe by its natural conſtitution verges as it were inſenſibly towards a point oppoſite to this ſecret motion of the heavens: however this may be, by the natural conſequence of this inclination, the earth's axis being conſtantly declining, it may hap-

pen, that what we call the oblique ſphere may become a right one, and what was a right ſphere, may in its turn become an oblique one—that the countries now lying under the equator might formerly have been under the poles, and what is now the frigid zone, may have before been the torrid.

HENCE we may conclude, that this great variation in the poſition of the whole body of the earth, muſt continually produce a number of particular alterations on its ſurface. The ocean, which acts as the inſtrument of all theſe ſmaller changes, by following this particular inclination of the axis, retires from one tract of land and occupies another, and thus occaſions thoſe inundations or deluges which have ſucceſſively overflowed the face of the globe; which have drowned its inhabitants, and every where left viſible marks of ruin and devaſtation, or laſting memorials of their fatal effects in the annals or traditions of mankind.

THIS perpetual conteſt of one element with another; of the earth ingulphing the waters in her internal cavities, and of the ſea encroaching upon, and ſwallowing up large tracts of land; this eternal ſtrife ſubſiſting between two elements apparently incompatible, but in reality inſeparable from each other, expoſes the inhabitants of the globe to evident dangers, and fills them with apprehenſions concerning their fate. The lively recollection of paſt, naturally begets a dread of future changes. Hence the univerſal traditions concerning deluges in the earlier ages, and the expectation of the future conflagration of the world. The

 violent

violent agitations which have been felt in every part of the globe; earthquakes occasioned by inundations, or vulcanos produced by those convulsions, raise and keep up terror in the minds of men. This terror has been diffused, and received the sanction of every superstition from whence it first arose; and it is observed to operate most strongly in countries, such as America, where the vestiges of these revolutions of the globe are most remarkable and most recent.

MAN once possessed with fear, considers a single calamity as the parent of a thousand others. Earth and heaven seem equally to conspire his ruin: he imagines that he views death both above and beneath him: he looks upon events which accidentally happen at the same juncture, as connected in the nature and the order of things; and as every transaction on this globe must necessarily appear under the aspect of some constellation, the stars are accused of having a share in every calamity whose cause is unknown; and the human mind, which has ever been bewildered in its inquiries concerning the origin of evil, has been led to suppose that certain similar situations of the planets, however common, have an immediate and necessary influence on all revolutions happening at the time, or soon after succeeding.

POLITICAL events, in particular, on account of their greater importance to mankind, have ever been considered as more immediately depending on the motion of the stars. Hence have arisen false predictions, and the terrors they have inspired; terrors which have always disturbed the earth, and of

of which ignorance is the cauſe, and at the ſame time regulates the degree of them.

THOUGH Montezuma, as well as many other perſons, might poſſibly have been affected with this diſeaſe of the human mind, there is no circumſtance that can induce us to impute this prevailing weakneſs to him. His political conduct, however, was not the wiſer on this account. Since this prince had been upon the throne, he had no longer diſplayed any of thoſe talents that had placed him upon it. Sunk in a ſtate of effeminacy and indolence, he deſpiſed his ſubjects, and oppreſſed his tributaries. His mind was ſo debaſed and corrupted, that even the arrival of the Spaniards could not rouze him into action. He waſted in negociations the time he ſhould have employed in combat, and wiſhed to ſend away laden with preſents, enemies he ought to have deſtroyed. Cortez, to whom this ſupineneſs was very convenient, omitted nothing that might contribute to encourage it, and always treated with him in the moſt friendly terms. He declared, that he was ſent merely with orders to hold a conference with the powerful emperor of Mexico, on the part of the greateſt monarch of the eaſt. Whenever he was preſſed to reimbark, he always repreſented that no ambaſſador had ever been diſmiſſed without being admitted to an audience. At length, the deputies finding him inflexible, were obliged, according to their inſtructions, to have recourſe to menaces, and ſpoke in high terms of the opulence and ſtrength of their country. Cortez then turning to his ſoldiers, told them: *This is exactly what we wiſh*

wish to meet with, great dangers, and great wealth. He had then completed all his preparatives, and gained every information that was neceſſary. Reſolved therefore to conquer or to periſh, he ſet fire to all his ſhips, and directed his march to the capital of the empire.

In his way he met with the republic of Tlaſcala, which had ever been in enmity with the Mexicans, who wanted to make it ſubject to their empire. Cortez not doubting but that they would favour his projects, demanded permiſſion to paſs through their country, and propoſed an alliance, both which were refuſed for reaſons that we never have been acquainted with. The ſurpriſing accounts given of the Spaniards aſtoniſhed the inhabitants of Tlaſcala, but did not diſmay them. They fought four or five battles; in one of which the Spaniſh troops were broken, and in danger of being defeated, had not ſome diſſentions happened in the enemy's army. Cortez was obliged to intrench himſelf, and the Tlaſcalans, who wanted nothing but arms to make them victorious, ruſhed to death upon his breaſt-works.

Another circumſtance which contributed not a little to their defeat, was a certain point of honour dictated by the feelings of common humanity, adopted by the Greeks at the ſiege of Troy, and by ſome people among the Gauls; and eſtabliſhed among ſeveral nations. This was the dread and diſgrace of ſuffering the dead or the wounded to be carried off by the enemy. An attention to this point occaſioned a continual confuſion in their army, and abated the vigour of their attacks.

BOOK VI.

The form of government among theſe people was very ſingular, and in many reſpects at leaſt may be propoſed as an excellent model. The country was divided into ſeveral diſtricts, over which princes preſided with the title of Caciques. They led their ſubjects to war, levied taxes, and adminiſtred juſtice: but it was neceſſary that their laws and edicts ſhould have the ſanction of the ſenate of Tlaſcala, in which the ſupreme authority reſided. This body was compoſed of citizens choſen out of each diſtrict by an aſſembly of the people.

The morals of the Tlaſcalans were extremely ſevere. Falſhood, filial ingratitude, and ſodomy were puniſhed with death. Polygamy was tolerated by law. Their climate led to it, and the government encouraged it.

Military merit here, as in all uncivilized ſtates or ſuch as aſpire to conqueſt, was in the higheſt eſteem. In their warlike expeditions they carried in their quivers two arrows, on which were engraven the figures of two of their antient heroes. They began the engagement by diſcharging one of theſe arrows, which it was a point of honour to recover. In their towns they wore a dreſs, which they laid aſide when they went to battle. They were celebrated for ſimplicity and ſincerity in their public treaties, and the veneration they paid to old men. Theft, adultery, and drunkenneſs were held in deteſtation, and the perſons guilty of thoſe crimes were doomed to baniſhment. No ſtrong liquors were allowed to be drunk by any but veterans, exhauſted by the fatigues of war.

The

The Tlaſcalans had their pleaſure-gardens and their baths. They were fond of dancing, poetry, and theatrical amuſements. One of their principal divinities was the goddeſs of love, who had a temple erected to her, where the whole nation reſorted to the celebration of her feſtivals.

Their country was not of any great extent, nor was it the moſt fertile ſpot in that part of the world. Though mountainous it was well cultivated, very populous, and very happy.

Such were the people whom the Spaniards diſdained to acknowledge of the ſame ſpecies with themſelves. One of the qualities of the Tlaſcalans which excited their contempt the moſt, was the love of liberty. They fancied that theſe people had no government, becauſe it was not veſted in a ſingle perſon; no police, becauſe it differed from that of Madrid; no virtues, becauſe they were not of the ſame religious perſuaſion; and no underſtanding, becauſe they did not adopt the ſame opinion.

Perhaps, no people have ever been ſo firmly attached to their national prejudices, as the Spaniards were at that time, and as they ſtill continue to be. By theſe prejudices all their ſentiments were dictated, their judgments influenced, and their characters formed. The ſtrong and ardent genius they derived from nature, ſerved only to aſſiſt them in inventing ſophiſms to confirm them in their errors. Never was the perverſion of human reaſon maintained in a more dogmatical, determined, obſtinate and artful manner. Nor was their attachment to their cuſtoms leſs ſtrong than

than to their prejudices. They thought no people in the world were intelligent, enlightened and virtuous, except themſelves. This national pride, carried to an exceſs of infatuation beyond example, would have inclined them to conſider Athens in the ſame contemptuous light as they did Tlaſcala. They would have treated the Chineſe as brutes, and have every where left marks of outrage, oppreſſion, and devaſtation.

THIS haughty and imperious turn of mind did not, however, prevent the Spaniards from making an alliance with the Tlaſcalans, who furniſhed them with troops to conduct their march and ſupport them in their enterpriſe.

Cortez advances towards Mexico. Manners, religion, government, and riches of the empire, at the arrival of the Spaniards.

WITH this reinforcement, Cortez advanced towards the capital city, through a fertile country watered by fine rivers, and interſperſed with towns, woods, cultivated fields, and gardens. The ſoil produced a variety of plants unknown in Europe. Birds of the brighteſt plumage, and animals of a new ſpecies appeared in great abundance. Nature only changed her appearance, by aſſuming a more agreeable and richer dreſs. The temperature of the air, and the continual heats which were not inſupportable, preſerved the earth in conſtant verdure and fertility. On the ſame ſpot were ſeen trees covered with bloſſoms, and others with delicious fruits: and the corn that was ſown in one field was reaped in another.

THE Spaniards ſeemed to be inſenſible to the beauties of ſo new a ſcene. They ſaw that gold was the common ornament of the houſes and temples;

temples; that the arms, furniture, and perfons of the Mexicans were adorned with the fame metal. This alone attracted their notice, like Mammon, whom Milton defcribes as forgetting the Divinity in Heaven itfelf, and having his eyes always fixed upon its golden porches.

MONTEZUMA's wavering difpofition, and, perhaps, the fear of ftaining his former glory, prevented him from marching againft the Spaniards at their arrival, and from joining the Tlafcalans, who had behaved with greater courage than he had done; and laftly, from attacking conquerors who were fatigued with their own victories. He had contented himfelf with endeavouring to divert Cortez from his defign of vifiting his capital, and refolved at laft to introduce him into it himfelf. Thirty kings or princes were fubject to his dominion, many of whom were able to bring a numerous army into the field. He poffeffed immenfe riches, and his power was abfolute. It is faid that his fubjects were intelligent, enlightened, polite and induftrious. They were alfo a warlike people, and had high notions of honour.

HAD the emperor of Mexico known how to avail himfelf of thefe advantages, the fceptre could never have been wrefted out of his hands. But this prince forgetting what he owed to himfelf and to his ftation, did not fhew the leaft inftance of courage, or ability, by the exertion of his whole force when he might have crufhed the Spaniards, notwithftanding their fuperiority in difcipline and arms; he rather chofe to have recourfe to perfidy.

WHILE

While he loaded them with prefents, careffes, and every token of refpect at Mexico, he gave orders to attack Vera-Cruz, a colony the Spaniards had eftablifhed with a view of fecuring their retreat, and of being furnifhed with fupplies. Cortez acquainted his companions with the news, and told them, " That it was abfolutely neceffary to fur-" prife thefe barbarians with fome extraordinary " exploit; and that he refolved to feize the emperor, " and make himfelf mafter of his perfon." This defign being approved, he inftantly marched with his officers to Montezuma's palace, and told him he muft either follow him, or die. The prince, whofe pufillanimity could only be equalled by the rafhnefs of his enemies, refigned himfelf into their hands. He was obliged to confent to the punifhment of the generals, who had acted only in obedience to his orders; and completed his difgrace, by fubmitting to do homage to the king of Spain.

In the midft of this fuccefs, Cortez received advice that Narvaez was difpatched by the governor of Cuba, with a fmall army to fuperfede him in his command. He marched towards his rival, engaged, and took him prifoner. He ordered the vanquifhed to lay down their arms, but afterwards reftored them, and propofed that they fhould follow him. He gained their affections by his confidence and magnanimity; and the army of Narvaez inlifted under his ftandard. He then returned to Mexico, where he had left two hundred men to guard the emperor.

Commotions were excited among the nobility of Mexico, whofe indignation was raifed at the captivity

captivity of their prince; and the indiſcreet zeal of the Spaniards having prompted them to diſturb a public feſtival celebrated in honour of the deities of the country, by deſtroying their altars, and making a maſſacre of the worſhippers and prieſts, had provoked the people to take up arms.

The ſuperſtition of the Mexicans was the only mark of barbariſm among them: their prieſts, however, who were a diſgrace to humanity, made a moſt ſcandalous abuſe of that abominable worſhip, which they had impoſed upon the credulity of the people. This government, like all other civilized nations, acknowledged a ſupreme being, and a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments: but theſe uſeful doctrines were diſgraced by a mixture of abſurdities, which deſtroyed their credibility.

The religious ſyſtem of the Mexicans taught them to expect the final cataſtrophe of the world, at the concluſion of every century; and that year was diſtinguiſhed throughout the whole empire, by every mark of grief and conſternation. The Mexicans invoked inferior powers in the ſame manner as other nations have invoked Genii, Camis, Manitous, Angels, and Fetiches. The loweſt of this claſs of deities had all their temples, images, functions, and diſtinct authority aſſigned them, together with the power of working miracles.

The Mexicans had alſo their holy water to ſprinkle the people; and the emperor drank of it. Pilgrimages, proceſſions and donations to the prieſts

priests were esteemed acts of piety: and they were no strangers to expiations, penances, mortifications, and abstinence. They had some superstitious observances peculiar to themselves. A slave was annually chosen, and shut up in the temple; to him they paid adoration, offered incense, invoked him as a deity, and concluded the scene by putting him to death with great solemnity. Another piece of superstition, of which no traces are to be found in any other country, was this: on certain days the priests made a statue of paste, which they sent to the oven; they placed it upon an altar, where it became a divinity. Upon this day innumerable crouds of people flocked to the temple. The priests cut the statue in pieces, and distributed a portion of it to all the persons in the assembly, who ate it, and thought they were sanctified by swallowing their god.

It was certainly more eligible to eat gods than men: and yet the Mexicans sacrificed their prisoners of war in the temple of the god of battles. The priests, it is said, afterwards ate them, and sent portions to the emperor, and the principal lords of the realm. When peace had lasted some time, the priests took care to have it insinuated to the emperor, that the gods were perishing with hunger; and war was commenced with no other view than to make prisoners. Such a system of religion was in every view odious and terrible; and all its ceremonies were of a dismal and sanguinary cast. It kept mankind perpetually in awe, was calculated to make the people cruel,

cruel, and to give the priefts an unlimited authority. Thefe barbarous abfurdities, though they might juftly excite the deteftation of the Spaniards, could not juftify their attempts to fupprefs them by the greateft cruelties. They could not juftify them in attacking and murdering a people affembled in the principal temple of the capital; or in affaffinating the nobles in order to feize upon their poffeffions.

On his return to Mexico, Cortez found the Spaniards befieged in the palace, where he had left them to guard the emperor. It was not without difficulty that he opened a paffage to join them; and when he was at their head, he was obliged to fuftain many powerful attacks. The Mexicans gave proofs of extraordinary courage. They chearfully devoted themfelves to certain death. Naked and ill armed, they threw themfelves into the ranks of the Spaniards, with a view of making their arms ufelefs, or wrefting them out of their hands. Several attempted to enter Cortez's palace by the embrafures, where the cannon were placed: and there was not a man who would not have courted death to procure the deliverance of his country from the tyranny of thefe foreign ufurpers. Cortez having taken poffeffion of a temple which was an advantageous poft, was viewing from a platform the engagement in which the Indians fought defperately for the recovery of their loft liberty, when two young Mexican noblemen threw away their arms, and came over to him as deferters. Placing one knee on the ground in a fuppliant pofture,

posture, they seized him, and threw themselves from the platform, in hopes of making him perish by dragging him along with them. Cortez disengaged himself from them, and kept his station by laying hold of the balustrade; and the two Mexicans died victims of this noble but fruitless enterprize.

THIS and some other exploits which shewed equal courage, made the Spaniards desirous of coming to terms of accommodation. At length Montezuma consented to become the instrument of his people's slavery, and appeared upon the rampart to persuade his subjects to retire. Their resentment convinced him that his reign was at an end, and he was mortally wounded by the shower of arrows they discharged at him.

THE successor to this mean monarch was of a haughty and intrepid disposition. He united judgment with readiness of conception. He knew how to retrieve his affairs, and to defend himself in circumstances of danger. His sagacity discovered to him the difficulty of gaining any advantage over an enemy so superior in their weapons, by vigorous attacks, and he thought it the best expedient to reduce them by famine. Cortez no sooner perceived this change of measures, than he thought of securing a retreat into the country of Tlascala.

THE execution of this project required great dispatch, impenetrable secrecy, and well concerted measures. The march was begun in the middle of the night: the army was silently filing off along a bank, when it was found that its

its motions had been obſerved with a ſpirit of diſguiſe, of which the Mexicans were thought incapable. His rear guard was attacked by a numerous body, and the flanks by the canoes diſtributed on each ſide of the cauſeway. If the Mexicans, who had a greater number of troops than they could bring into action, had taken the precaution to place a part of them at the extremity of this cauſeway, or even to break it, all the Spaniards would inevitably have periſhed in this bloody engagement. Fortunately for them, the enemy knew not how to avail himſelf of all his advantages, and they at length reached the borders of the lake, after having undergone a variety of incredible dangers and fatigues. The confuſion they were in ſtill expoſed them to a total defeat, when they were relieved from this danger by a freſh error of the enemy.

No ſooner had the morning diſcovered to the Mexicans the field of battle of which they were maſters, than they perceived among the ſlain, two of Montezuma's ſons, whom the Spaniards were carrying off with ſome other priſoners. This ſight chilled them with horror. The idea of having maſſacred the children after having ſacrificed the father, was too violent for men enfeebled and enervated by a habit of blind obedience, to be able to bear. They were afraid of adding impiety to regicide; and employed in idle funeral rites the time they owed to the preſervation of their country.

During this interval, the beaten army, which had loſt two hundred Spaniards, a thouſand Tlaſ-

 calans,

BOOK VI.

calans, the greater part of their artillery, and which had ſcarce a ſoldier remaining that was not wounded, was reſuming its march. The enemy ſoon purſued, harraſſed, and at length ſurrounded it in the valley of Otumba. The cannonade, and the firing of the ſmall arms, the pikes and ſwords did not prevent the Indians, all naked as they were, from advancing, and charging their enemies with great fury. Courage was juſt upon the point of yielding to numbers, when Cortez himſelf determined the fortune of the day. He had been informed, that in this part of the new world, the fate of the battle depended upon the royal ſtandard. Theſe colours, the form of which was remarkable, and which were never brought into the field but on the moſt important occaſions, were at no great diſtance from him. He immediately ruſhed forward with the braveſt of his companions, to take them from the enemy. One of them ſeized and carried them into the Spaniſh ranks. The Mexicans immediately loſt all courage; and throwing down their arms, betook themſelves to flight. Cortez purſued his march, and arrived in the country of Tlaſcala without oppoſition.

Cortez did not relinquiſh either the deſign or the hopes of ſubduing the empire of Mexico, but he adopted a new plan; and propoſed to make one part of the inhabitants aſſiſt him in the reduction of the other. The form of the Mexican government, the diſpoſition of the people,

ple, and the ſituation of the city, favoured his project, and facilitated the execution of it.

The empire was elective, and certain princes or caciques were the electors. They uſually choſe one of their own body. He was obliged to take an oath, that ſo long as he filled the throne, the rains ſhould fall in due ſeaſon, the rivers cauſe no inundations, the fields be exempt from ſterility, and that mankind ſhould not be deſtroyed by the malignant effects of a contagious air. This cuſtom may have had ſome reference to a theocratical government, the traces of which are ſtill to be found almoſt among all the nations in the world. It might likewiſe probably be the intention of this whimſical oath to intimate to the new ſovereign, that, as the misfortunes of a ſtate almoſt always ariſe from wrong meaſures of adminiſtration, his government ought to be conducted with ſuch moderation and wiſdom, that public calamities might never be conſidered as the conſequences of his imprudence, or as the juſt puniſhment of his licentiouſneſs. According to the admirable tenor of their laws, merit was the only title to the crown: but ſuperſtition had given the prieſts a conſiderable influence in their elections. On his acceſſion to the throne, the emperor was obliged to make war, and to offer the priſoners to the gods. This prince, though elective, had an abſolute authority, as there were no written laws, and he was at liberty to make what alterations he pleaſed in the old cuſtoms. Almoſt all the forms of

 juſtice

justice and ceremonies of the court had the sanction of religion. The same crimes that are punished in all other places, were punishable by the laws, but the criminals were often saved by the interposition of the priests. There were two laws which had a tendency to destroy the innocent, and to make the Mexicans bend under the double yoke of tyranny and superstition. By these laws, persons offending against the sanctity of religion, or the majesty of the prince, were condemned to death. It is easy to discern how much laws of so little precision might afford opportunities of gratifying private revenge, or of promoting the interested views of priests and courtiers.

The steps by which private men obtained the rank of nobility, and the nobility rose to posts of honour, were bravery, piety, and perseverance. In the temples a more painful noviciate was prescribed than in the army; and the nobles who had undergone such hardships to obtain their distinctions, submitted to the meanest employments in the palace of the emperors.

Among the great numbers of vassals in Mexico, Cortez concluded there might be some who would be ready to shake off the yoke, and join the Spaniards. He had remarked that the Mexicans were held in great detestation by the petty states that were subject to the empire, and that the emperors exercised their authority with extreme severity. He had likewise observed, that the provinces in general disliked the religion of the metropolis, and that even in Mexico, the nobility and

and perſons of fortune, whoſe intercourſe with ſociety had abated the force of their prejudices, and ſoftened their popular manners, had loſt their attachment to this mode of religion: and that many of the nobility were diſguſted at the low ſervices exacted of them by their maſters.

HAVING received ſome ſmall reinforcements from the Spaniards, obtained ſome troops from the republic of Tlaſcala, and formed ſome new alliances, Cortez bent his courſe once more towards the capital of the empire.

MEXICO was ſituated on an iſland in the middle of a large lake. If the Spaniards may be credited, this city contained twenty thouſand houſes; the inhabitants were very numerous, and the buildings magnificent. The emperor's palace, which was built with marble and jaſper, was of a prodigious extent. Its fountains, baths, ornaments, and ſtatues repreſenting different animals, excited admiration. It was full of pictures, which though made of feathers, were finely coloured, brilliant, and natural. Moſt of the caciques, as well as the emperor, had menageries repleniſhed with all the animals of the new continent, and apartments for the arrangement of natural curioſities. Their gardens were filled with plants of every ſpecies. The beauties of nature, and whatever is rare or glittering in her productions, muſt be an object of luxury to an opulent people, where nature is beautiful, and the arts are not brought to perfection. The temples, which were numerous, were in general magnificent; but polluted with blood, and hung round with the heads of

the unhappy victims who had been facrificed. One of the greateſt beauties of Mexico was a ſquare to which more than a hundred thouſand perſons uſually reſorted: it was covered with tents and ſhops, where the merchants expoſed to view all the riches of the country, and the manufactures of the Mexicans: birds of every colour, brilliant ſhells, a profuſion of flowers, together with pieces of workmanſhip in gold and enamel, gave theſe markets a more beautiful and ſplendid appearance to the eye, than is to be met with in the richeſt fairs of Europe. One hundred thouſand canoes were conſtantly paſſing and repaſſing between the city and the borders of the lake; which were ornamented with more than fifty cities, and a multitude of towns and villages. Upon this lake were three cauſeways of conſiderable length, which were maſter-pieces of Mexican induſtry. If we conſider that theſe people were of no very remote antiquity, that they had no intercourſe with any enlightened nation, that they knew not the uſe of iron, were deſtitute of the convenience of writing, and unacquainted with any of thoſe arts which aſſiſt us in the knowledge and exerciſe of others; and if we add to this, that they lived in a climate where the invention of man is not excited by neceſſity; we muſt acknowledge them to have been one of the moſt ingenious people in the world.

But the falſity of this pompous deſcription may eaſily be made evident to every man's capacity. It is not, however, merely by contraſting

ing the prefent ftate of Mexico with that in which its conquerors pretend to have found it, that this point can be decided. The ravages occafioned by deftructive tyranny, and a long continued feries of oppreffions, are fufficiently known. But if we compare the different accounts of the Spaniards, we fhall then be able to judge of the degree of credit they deferve. When they wifh to imprint a great idea of their courage and fuccefs, they reprefent the empire they have fubdued as a formidable, rich, and civilized kingdom. If, on the contrary, they mean to juftify their cruelties, no people were ever fo bafe, fo corrupt, fo barbarous as thefe.

Were it poffible to form a proper judgment of a people that exifts no more, it might poffibly be faid, that the Mexicans were fubject to a defpotifm as cruel as it was ill concerted; that they rather conceived the neceffity of having regular tribunals of juftice, than they felt the advantages of them; that the fmall number of arts they followed were as defective in workmanfhip, as they were rich in materials; that they were further removed from a favage, than they were near to a civilized people; and that fear, the chief fpring of all arbitrary governments, ferved them inftead of morality and principles.

Cortez began, however, by gaining over to his intereft the caciques who reigned in the cities that were fituated on the borders of the lake. Some of them joined the Spaniards with their forces; others were reduced to fubjection. Cortez took poffeffion of the three avenues that lead

 to

to Mexico. He alſo endeavoured to make himſelf maſter of the navigation of the lake. He built ſome brigantines, on board of which he put part of his artillery: and, in this poſture, he waited till famine ſhould produce a ſurrender of the empire of the new world.

Guatimozin exerted his utmoſt efforts to relieve the capital. His ſubjects fought with as much fury as ever. The Spaniards, however, maintained their poſts, and carried their attacks into the center of the city. The Mexicans fearing it would be taken, and perceiving that there muſt ſoon be a total want of proviſions, turned their attention to the preſervation of their emperor. He conſented to attempt his eſcape, with a view of maintaining the war in the northern part of his dominions. To facilitate his retreat, a party of his ſoldiers generouſly devoted themſelves to death, by diverting the attention of the beſiegers: but the canoe, in which this generous and unfortunate monarch had embarked, was taken by a brigantine. An officer of the Spaniſh revenue ſuſpecting that he had treaſures concealed, ordered him to be extended upon red hot coals, to extort a confeſſion. His favourite, who underwent the ſame torture, complaining to him of his ſufferings, the emperor ſaid, *Am I upon a bed of roſes?* an expreſſion equal to any of thoſe which hiſtory has recorded as worthy the admiration of mankind! an expreſſion which the Mexicans ſhall one day repeat to their children, when the period ſhall arrive, in which the Spaniards ſhall expiate the cruelties they have exerciſed,

ercifed, and that race of deftroyers be plunged into the fea, or drowned in their own blood. Thefe people may, perhaps, preferve the actions of their martyrs, and the hiftory of their perfecutions. In thefe it will be recorded, that Guatimozin was dragged half dead from the flames, and that three years after he was publicly hanged, under pretence of his having confpired againft his oppreffors and executioners.

The Spaniards being mafters of Mexico, extend its boundaries.

In arbitrary ftates, the fall of the prince and the reduction of the capital ufually bring on the conqueft and fubjection of the whole realm. The people cannot preferve their attachment to an oppreffive government, or to a tyrant who thinks to make himfelf more refpectable by never appearing in public. Accuftomed to acknowledge no right but that of force, they never fail to fubmit to the ftrongeft party. Such was the revolution of Mexico. All the provinces fubmitted without refiftance to the victor, who gave the name of New Spain to this empire, the frontiers of which were ftill extended, though they were already five hundred leagues in length, and two hundred in breadth.

The firft ftep the conquerors took, was to add to their acquifitions the vaft tract which lies to the fouthward, and extends from Guatimala to the gulph of Darien. This acceffion of territory, though acquired without much lofs of time, blood, or treafure, was of little ufe. The provinces of which it confifts are hardly known, and inhabited only by a few Spaniards, who in general are poor, and have by their tyranny

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compelled the Indians to retire into the mountains and impenetrable forests. Among all these savages, the Mosquitos are the only people who retain the form of a nation. Having for a long time struggled to preserve the fertile plains they inhabited in the country of Nicaragua, they took refuge among the barren rocks at the cape of Gracias à Dios. Defended on the inland side by impassable morasses, and on that of the sea by dangerous shoals, they defy the rage of their enemies. Their intercourse with the English and French pirates, whom they have frequently accompanied in the most dangerous enterprizes, has inflamed their hatred for their persecutors, increased their natural audacity, and taught them the use of fire-arms: but their numbers, which were never considerable, have been continually on the decline. As they do not at present exceed two thousand men, their weakness puts it out of their power to give the least alarm.

THE increased extent of New Spain towards the north, is more considerable, and may prove of much more importance. We have hitherto been speaking only of New Mexico, which was discovered in 1553, and conquered in the beginning of the last century; which revolted about the middle of it, and was soon after reduced to subjection. All that we know concerning this immense province, is, that the Spaniards have settled a few wandering savages there, introduced a little agriculture, worked some rich mines imperfectly, and established a settlement called Santa-Fé.

Fé. The conqueſt of this inland territory would have been followed by another of much greater utility on the ſea-coaſt, if, during the hundred years ſince it was undertaken, it had been proſecuted with the attention it deſerved.

THE old empire of Mexico extended its boundaries almoſt to the entrance of Vermilion bay. From theſe limits, to the place where the continent is united to California, is a gulph almoſt twenty degrees in length. Its breadth is ſometimes ſixty, and ſometimes fifty leagues, ſeldom leſs than forty. In this extent there are many ſand-banks, and a conſiderable number of iſlands, and the coaſt is inhabited by ſeveral ſavage nations, which are for the moſt part in enmity with each other. The Spaniards have here formed certain ſcattered colonies, to which, agreeably to their cuſtom, they have given the name of provinces. Their miſſionaries have carried their diſcoveries further, and flattered themſelves that they ſhould procure to their country greater riches than it had ever acquired from its moſt celebrated poſſeſſions.

SEVERAL cauſes have been for a long time combined, to render their labours ineffectual. No ſooner had they aſſembled together, and civilized ſome of the ſavages, than theſe were carried off to be employed in the mines. This cruelty ruined the riſing ſettlements, and prevented other Indians from incorporating with them. The Spaniards, too remote from the inſpection of government, gave themſelves up to the moſt atrocious

cious and unheard of enormities. Quickſilver, ſtuffs, and other merchandiſe were carried thither from Vera-Cruz on mules through a difficult and dangerous way of ſix or ſeven hundred leagues; a circumſtance which, at the end of the journey, enhanced their price ſo conſiderably, that moſt of the perſons concerned in the working of the mines were obliged to abandon them, from the impoſſibility of ſupporting them. At laſt certain clans of ſavages, ſtimulated either by ferocity or the well-grounded apprehenſion of being one day enſlaved, unexpectedly fell on the workmen, who ſtill obſtinately perſiſted in ſtruggling againſt ſo many difficulties.

It was hoped that a new arrangement of things would take place, when in 1746, by order of government, the Jeſuit Ferdinand Conſag had ſailed through the whole gulph of California. This voyage, executed with the utmoſt care and with great judgment, inſtructed the Spaniards in every thing that was of importance for them to know. They became acquainted with the coaſts of this continent, the harbours which nature has opened there, the ſandy and dry places which are not ſuſceptible of cultivation, and the rivers, which by the fertility they produce on their banks point out the proper ſpot for the formation of ſettlements. Nothing in future could hinder the veſſels from Acapulco from entering Vermilion bay, or from conveying at a moderate expence, into the provinces on its borders, miſſionaries, ſoldiers, miners, proviſions, merchandiſe, and every thing neceſſary for colonies, and returning from thence laden

laden with metals. The imagination of the Spaniards went ſtill further. They already foreſaw the whole continent ſubdued as far as new Mexico, and a new empire riſe, as extenſive and as opulent as the former, and which would be ſuperior to it in the mildneſs and ſalubrity of its climate.

THESE expectations were not chimerical; but in order to have them realized, it was neceſſary that the natives of the country ſhould either be gained over by humane actions, or ſubdued by force of arms. It could not poſſibly enter into the minds of deſtroyers of the new world to have recourſe to the firſt of theſe expedients, and they were not able to purſue the ſecond before the year 1768.

THEIR endeavours have not been crowned with complete ſucceſs. They advanced with conſiderable rapidity in Mexico, and in every region which was populous, or whoſe inhabitants were collected in a ſmall compaſs. Countries leſs inhabited were not ſo ſoon reduced, becauſe there was a neceſſity of finding out men to ſubdue, and becauſe they fled into the foreſts whenever the Spaniards appeared, and did not appear again till want of ſubſiſtence had obliged them to return. Thus it was not till after three years purſuit, toil, and cruelty, that the conqueſt of the Seris, Platos, and Sobaiporis was completed. Their neighbours, the Papagos, Nijoras, and Sobas, deſpairing of being able to defend their liberty, ſubmitted to the yoke without reſiſtance. Troops were ſtill employed in 1771 in purſuing the Apaches, the moſt warlike of theſe nations, and who had the ſtrongeſt paſſion

paffion for independence. It is no longer thought poffible to fubdue them, but the Spaniards are conftantly employed in exterminating their race, or at leaft in keeping them at a diftance from New Bifcay, which would otherwife be expofed to their incurfions.

The wealth that has been lately found in the provinces of Sonora and Cinaloa, which form what is now called the New Andalufia, appears to tranfcend every thing that has been feen in any other place. There is a gold mine fourteen leagues in extent, which at the depth of two feet offers immenfe treafures. Of the filver mines, one produces eight marks per quintal of ore, and the ftones which are drawn out of the other are almoft entirely compofed of native filver. If the court of Madrid, which has juft publifhed thefe difcoveries, hath not been deceived; if the mines, which often have a great extent of furface with very little depth, do not prefent delufive hopes, the unhappy favages, who have very lately been fubdued, will be all buried alive in the bowels of the earth.

Climate, foil, and population of Mexico.

New Spain is almoft entirely fituated within the torrid zone. The air is exceffively warm, moift, and unwholefome on the coafts of the north fea. Thefe defects of the climate are infinitely lefs felt on the coafts of the fouth fea, and hardly at all in the inland country, which is interfected by a chain of mountains, that are fuppofed to be a continuation of the Cordeleras.

The quality of the foil has the fame variations. The eaftern part is low, marfhy, overflowed in the rainy

rainy ſeaſons, covered with impenetrable foreſts, and totally uncultivated. It may be imagined, that if the Spaniards ſhould leave it in this ſtate of deſolation, it is becauſe they judge, that a deſert and deſtructive frontier will furniſh a better defence againſt an enemy's fleet, than they could ever expect either from fortifications and troops, the maintenance of which would coſt immenſe ſums; or from the natives of the country, who are effeminate, and little attached to the government of their conquerors. The ſoil on the weſtern ſide is higher, of a better quality, on which there are many fields, and ſeveral houſes are built upon it. In the low lands there are diſtricts, on which nature has been very liberal; but, like every country ſituated under the tropics, they abound more in fruits than in corn.

THE population of this vaſt empire is not leſs various than its ſoil. Its moſt diſtinguiſhed inhabitants are the Spaniards, ſent hither by the court to fill the poſts of government. They are obliged, like thoſe in the mother-country who aſpire to any eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military employments, to prove that there hath been neither hereticks, Jews, Mohammedans, nor any perſons in their family who have been called before the inquiſition, for four generations. Merchants who are deſirous of going to Mexico, as well as to other parts of America, without becoming coloniſts, are compelled to obſerve the ſame forms. They are alſo obliged to ſwear that they have three hundred palms of merchandiſe, their own property, in the fleet in which they embark, and that they will not carry their

BOOK VI.

their wives with them. On theſe abſurd conditions, they become the principal agents of the European commerce with the Indies. Though their charter is only to continue three years, and a little longer for countries more remote, it is of great importance. To them alone belongs the right of ſelling, as commiſſioners, the major part of the cargo. If theſe laws were obſerved, the merchants ſtationed in the new world would be confined to diſpoſe of what they have received on their own account.

THE predilection which adminiſtration has for Spaniards born in Europe, has reduced the Spaniſh Creoles to acquieſce in ſubordinate ſtations. The deſcendents of the companions of Cortez, and of thoſe who came after them, being conſtantly excluded from all places of honour or of truſt that were any way conſiderable, have ſeen the gradual decay of the power that ſupported their fathers. The habit of being obliged to bear that unjuſt contempt with which they have been treated, has at laſt made them become really contemptible. They have totally loſt, in the vices which originate from indolence, from the heat of the climate, and from a ſuperfluous enjoyment of all things, that firmneſs, and that ſort of pride which hath ever characterized their nation. A barbarous luxury, ſhameful pleaſures, and romantic intrigues have enervated all the vigour of their minds, and ſuperſtition hath completed the ruin of their virtues. Blindly devoted to prieſts too ignorant to enlighten them by their inſtructions, too depraved to edify them by their example, and too mercenary to attend

tend to both theſe duties of their function, they have no attachment to any part of their religion, but that which enfeebles the mind, and have neglected what might have contributed to rectify their morals.

THE Meſtees, who conſtitute the third order of citizens, are held in ſtill greater contempt. It is well known that the court of Madrid, in order to repleniſh a part of that dreadful vacancy, which the avarice and cruelty of the conquerors had occaſioned, and to regain the confidence of thoſe who had eſcaped their fury, encouraged as much as poſſible the marriage of Spaniards with Indian women. Theſe alliances, which became pretty common throughout all America, were particularly frequent in Mexico, where the women had more underſtanding, and were more agreeable than in other places. The Creoles transferred to this mixt progeny the contemptuous ſlight they received from the Europeans. Their condition, equivocal at firſt, in proceſs of time at laſt was fixed between the whites and the blacks.

THESE blacks are not very numerous in new Spain. As the natives are more intelligent, more robuſt, and more induſtrious than thoſe of the other colonies, they have hardly introduced any Africans except ſuch as were required either to indulge the caprice, or perform the domeſtic ſervice of rich people. Theſe ſlaves, who are much beloved by their maſters, on whom they abſolutely depend, who purchaſed them at an extravagant price, and who make them the miniſters of their pleaſures, take advantage of the high favour they

enjoy, to oppreſs the Mexicans. They aſſume over theſe men, who are called free, an aſcendent which keeps up an implacable hatred between the two nations. The law has ſtudied to encourage this averſion, by taking effectual meaſures to prevent all connection between them. Negroes are prohibited from having any amorous correſpondence with the Indians; the men, on pain of being mutilated, the women of being ſeverely puniſhed. On all theſe accounts, the Africans, who in other ſettlements are enemies to Europeans, are in the Spaniſh Indies their warm friends.

AUTHORITY has no need of this ſupport, at leaſt in Mexico, where population is no longer what it was formerly. The firſt hiſtorians, and thoſe who copied them, have recorded, that the Spaniards found there ten millions of ſouls. This was the exaggerated account of conquerors to exalt the magnificence of their triumph: and it was adopted without examination, with ſo much the more readineſs, as it rendered them the more odious. We need only trace with attention the progreſs of thoſe ruffians who at firſt deſolated theſe fine countries, in order to be convinced that they had not ſucceeded in multiplying men at Mexico and the adjacent parts, but by depopulating the center of the empire; and that the provinces which are remote from the capital, differed in nothing from the other deſerts of South and North America. It is making a great conceſſion to allow that the population of Mexico has only been exaggerated one half: for it does not now exceed one million.

IT

It is generally believed that the firſt conquerors maſſacred the Indians out of wantonneſs, and that even the prieſts incited them to theſe acts of ferocity. Undoubtedly theſe inhuman ſoldiers frequently ſhed blood without even an apparent motive; and certainly their fanatic miſſionaries did not oppoſe theſe barbarities as they ought to have done. This was not, however, the real cauſe, the principal ſource of the depopulation of Mexico; it was the work of a ſlow tyranny, and of that avarice which exacted from its wretched inhabitants more rigorous toil than was compatible with their conſtitution and the climate.

This oppreſſion was coeval with the conqueſt of the country. All the lands were divided between the crown, the companions of Cortez, and the grandees or miniſters who were moſt in favour at the court of Spain. The Mexicans, appointed to the royal domains, were deſtined to public labours, which originally were conſiderable. The lot of thoſe who were employed on the eſtates of individuals was ſtill more wretched. All groaned under a dreadful yoke; they were ill fed; they had no wages given them, and ſervices were required of them, under which the moſt robuſt men would have ſunk. Their misfortunes excited the compaſſion of Bartholomew de las Caſas.

This man, ſo famous in the annals of the new world, had accompanied his father in the firſt voyage made by Columbus. The mildneſs and ſimplicity of the Indians affected him ſo ſtrongly, that he made himſelf an eccleſiaſtic, in order to devote his labours to their converſion. But this

ſoon became the leaſt of his attentions. As he was more a *man* than a *prieſt*, he felt more for the cruelties exerciſed againſt them, than for their ſuperſtitions. He was continually hurrying from one hemiſphere to the other, in order to comfort the people for whom he had conceived an attachment, or to ſoften their tyrants. This conduct, which made him be idolized by the one, and dreaded by the other, had not the ſucceſs he expected. The hope of ſtriking awe, by a character revered among the Spaniards, determined him to accept the biſhoprick of Chiapa in Mexico. When he was convinced that this dignity was an inſufficient barrier againſt that avarice and cruelty which he endeavoured to check, he abdicated it. It was then that this courageous, firm, diſintereſted man accuſed his country before the tribunal of the whole univerſe. In his account of the tyranny of the Spaniards in America, he accuſes them of having deſtroyed fifteen millions of Indians. They ventured to find fault with the acrimony of his ſtyle, but no one convicted him of exaggeration. His writings, which indicate the amiable turn of his diſpoſition, and the ſublimity of his ſentiments, have ſtamped a diſgrace upon his barbarous countrymen, which time hath not, and never will efface.

THE court of Madrid, awakened by the repreſentations of the virtuous Las Caſas, and by the indignation of the whole world, became ſenſible at laſt, that the tyranny it permitted was repugnant to religion, to humanity, and to policy, and reſolved

refolved to break the chains of the Mexicans. Their liberty was now only conftrained by the fole condition, that they fhould not quit the territory where they were fettled. This precaution owed its origin to the fear that was entertained of their going to join the wandering favages to the north and fouth of the empire.

WITH their liberty their lands ought alfo to have been reftored to them; but this was not done. This injuftice compelled them to work folely for their oppreffors. It was only decreed, that the Spaniards, in whofe fervice they laboured, fhould ftipulate to keep them well, and pay them to the amount of 120 livres * a year.

FROM thefe profits the tribute impofed by government was fubftracted, together with an hundred fous † for an inftitution, which it is aftonifhing the conquerors fhould have thought of eftablifhing. This was a fund fet apart in each community, and appropriated to the relief of fuch Indians as were decayed or indifpofed, and to their fupport under private or public calamities.

THE diftribution of this fund was committed to their caciques. Thefe were not the defcendents of thofe whom they found in the country at the time of the conqueft. The Spaniards chofe them from among thofe Indians who appeared the moft attached to their interefts; and were under no apprehenfions at making thefe dignities hereditary. Their authority was limited to the fupporting the police in their diftrict, which in general extended

* About 5l. 5s. † 4s. 4d. ½.

eight or ten leagues; to the collecting the tribute of those Indians who laboured on their own account, that of the others being stopt by the masters whom they served; and to the preventing their flight by keeping them always under their inspection, and the not suffering them to contract any engagement without their consent. As a reward of their services, these magistrates obtained from government a property. They were permitted to take out of the common stock five sous * annually for every Indian under their jurisdiction. At last they were empowered to get their fields cultivated by such young men as were not yet subject to the poll tax; and to employ girls till the time of their marriage in such occupations as were adapted to their sex, without allowing them any salary except their maintenance.

THESE institutions, which totally changed the condition of the Indians of Mexico, irritated the Spaniards to a degree not to be conceived. Their pride would not suffer them to consider the Americans as free men, nor would their avarice permit them to pay for labour, which hitherto had cost them nothing. They employed successively, or in combination, craft, remonstrances, and violence, to effect the subversion of an arrangement which so strongly contradicted their warmest passions; but their efforts were ineffectual. Las Casas had raised up for his beloved Indians, protectors who seconded his design with zeal and warmth. The Mexicans themselves finding a support, impeached their

* Two-pence half-penny.

oppressors

oppreſſors before the tribunals, and even the tribunals that were either weak or in the intereſt of the court. They carried their reſolution ſo far, as even unanimouſly to refuſe to work for thoſe who had treated any of their countrymen with injuſtice. This mutual agreement, more than any other circumſtance, gave ſolidity to the regulations which had been decreed. The other, preſcribed by the laws, was gradually eſtabliſhed. There was no longer any regular ſyſtem of oppreſſion, but merely ſeveral of thoſe particular vexations, which a vanquiſhed people, who have loſt their government, can hardly avoid from thoſe who have ſubdued it.

THESE clandeſtine acts of injuſtice did not prevent the Mexicans from recovering, from time to time, certain detached portions of that immenſe territory of which their fathers had been deſpoiled. They purchaſed them of the royal domain, or of the great proprietors. It was not their labour which enabled them to make theſe acquiſitions: for this they were indebted to the happineſs of having diſcovered, ſome of them, mines, others, treaſures, which had been concealed at the time of the conqueſt. The greateſt number derived their reſources from the prieſts and monks, to whom they owed their exiſtence.

EVEN thoſe who experienced a fortune leſs propitious, procured for themſelves by the ſole profits of their pay more conveniences than they had enjoyed before they underwent a foreign yoke. We ſhould be very much deceived if we ſhould judge of the antient proſperity of the inhabitants

of Mexico, by what has been ſaid of its emperor, its court, its capital, and the governors of its provinces. Deſpotiſm had there produced thoſe fatal effects, which it produces every where. The whole ſtate was ſacrificed to the caprices, pleaſures, and magnificence of a ſmall number of perſons.

The government drew conſiderable advantages from the mines which it cauſed to be worked, and ſtill greater from thoſe which were in the hands of individuals. The ſalt works greatly added to its revenue. Thoſe who followed agriculture, at the time of harveſt paid in a kind of a third of all the produce of the lands; whether they belonged to them as their own property, or whether they were only the farmers of them. Men who lived by the chace, fiſhermen, potters, and all mechanics paid the ſame proportion of their induſtry every month. Even the poor were taxed at certain fixed contributions, which their labour or their alms might put them in a condition to pay.

The generality of the Mexicans went naked. The emperor himſelf and the nobles were only covered with a kind of mantle, compoſed of a piece of ſquare cotton tied on the right ſhoulder. They wore ſandals on their feet. The women of the lower ſort for their whole apparel had only a kind of ſhift with half ſleeves, which fell on their knees, and was open at the boſom. Common people were prohibited from raiſing their houſes above the ground floor, and from having either doors or windows. Moſt of theſe houſes were built of earth, and covered with boards, and had

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no greater ſhare of conveniency than elegance. The inſide was covered with mats, and lighted with torches of fir wood, though they had wax and oil in abundance. Their beds were made of plain ſtraw and coverlets of cotton. For their ſeats, they had only little ſacks of palm leaves; but it was their cuſtom to ſit on the ground, and even to eat in that poſture. Their nouriſhment, which conſiſted rarely of animal food, had little diverſity and little delicacy. Their moſt ordinary aliment was maize made into a paſte, or prepared with various ſeaſonings. With theſe they joined the common herbs found in the field, which were not too hard, or had not a bad ſmell. Cocoa diluted in warm water, or ſeaſoned with honey or pimento, was their beſt liquor. They had beſides theſe, other liquors, but not of an intoxicating quality: for all ſtrong drinks were ſo rigidly prohibited, that no one could uſe them, without a particular permiſſion from government, which was granted only to the ſick and aged. It was on certain ſolemnities alone, and in public labours, that each perſon had a quantity allowed in proportion to his age. Drunkenneſs was conſidered as the moſt ſcandalous of vices. Perſons who were found in this ſituation were ſhaved in public, and their houſes were pulled down. If they exerciſed any public office, they were deprived of it, and declared incapable of ever holding it again.

It is a matter of aſtoniſhment, that men who had ſo few wants ſhould ever ſubmit to the yoke of ſlavery. That the citizen accuſtomed to the indulgencies and conveniences of life, ſhould purchaſe

chaſe them every day with the ſacrifice of his liberty, is not the leaſt ſurpriſing; but that people to whom nature offers more felicity than the ſocial chain that unites them, ſhould calmly ſubmit to ſlavery, and never think that there is frequently but a river to croſs in order to be free; this would be for ever inconceivable, if we did not know how much habit and ſuperſtition render men inſenſible to the feelings of nature.

THE Mexicans are now leſs unhappy. Our fruits, our corn, and our cattle, have rendered their food more wholeſome, agreeable, and abundant. Their houſes are better built, better diſpoſed, and better furniſhed. Shoes, drawers, ſhirts, a garment of wool or cotton, a ruff, and a hat, conſtitute their dreſs. The dignity which it has been agreed to annex to theſe enjoyments, has made them better œconomiſts, and more laborious. This eaſe, however, is far from being univerſal; it is even very uncommon in the vicinity of the mines, towns, and great roads, where tyranny ſeldom ſleeps: but we often find it with ſatisfaction in remote parts where the Spaniards are not numerous, and where they have in ſome meaſure become Mexicans.

THE inhabitants of the province of Chiapa are diſtinguiſhed above all others. They owe their ſuperiority to the advantage of having had Las Caſas for their teacher, who originally prevented them from being oppreſſed. They ſurpaſs their countrymen in ſize, genius, and ſtrength. Their language has a peculiar ſoftneſs and elegance. Their territory, without being a better ſoil than

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the reſt, is infinitely richer in all ſorts of productions. They are painters, muſicians, and dexterous in all arts. They particularly excel in fabricating thoſe works, pictures and ſtuffs of feathers, which have never been imitated elſewhere. Their principal town is called Chiapa dos Indos. It is only inhabited by the natives of the country, who form a community conſiſting of four thouſand families, amongſt which are found many of the Indian nobility. The great river, on which this town is ſituated, is the ſpot on which the inhabitants continually diſplay their dexterity and their courage. They form naval armies with their boats. They engage, attack, and defend themſelves with ſurpriſing agility. They excel no leſs in the chace of bulls, cudgelling, dancing, and all bodily exerciſes. They build towns and caſtles of wood, which they cover with oil cloth, and which they beſiege in form. In a word, theatrical repreſentations are their ordinary amuſements. From theſe particulars we ſee what the Mexicans were capable of, if they had been fortunate enough to have paſſed under the dominion of a conqueror, who had poſſeſſed moderation and good ſenſe enough to relax the chains of their ſervitude, inſtead of riveting them.

Productions of Mexico.

THE employments of this people are very various. The moſt intelligent, and thoſe who are in eaſy circumſtances, devote themſelves to the moſt neceſſary and moſt uſeful manufactures, which are diſperſed through the whole empire. The moſt beautiful manufactures are eſtabliſhed among the people of Tlaſcala. Their old capital and the new

new one, which is called Angelos, are the center of this induſtry. Here they manufacture cloth that is pretty fine, callicoes that have an agreeable appearance, certain ſlight ſilks, good hats, gold lace, embroidery, lace, glaſſes, and a great deal of hardware. The arts muſt neceſſarily have made a greater progreſs in a province which hath been able to preſerve its independence a long time, which the Spaniards thought it prudent to treat with ſome management after the conqueſt, and which had always manifeſted ſuperior penetration, whether owing to its climate or its government. To theſe advantages is joined that of its ſituation. All the inhabitants of Mexico, who muſt neceſſarily paſs over its territory when they go to purchaſe the European merchandiſe that is landed at Vera Cruz, have found it convenient to take up on the road what the fleet did not ſupply them with, or what was ſold too dear.

The care of flocks affords a maintenance to ſome Mexicans, whom fortune or nature have not called to more diſtinguiſhed employments. America, at the time it was diſcovered, had neither hogs, ſheep, oxen, horſes, nor even any domeſtic animal. Columbus carried ſome of theſe uſeful animals to San Domingo, from whence they were generally diſperſed, and at Mexico more than in any other places. Theſe have multiplied prodigiouſly. They count their horned cattle by thouſands, whoſe ſkins are become an object of conſiderable exportation. The horſes are degenerated, but the quality is compenſated

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by the number. Hog's lard is here ſubſtituted for butter. Sheep's wool is dry, coarſe and bad, as it is every where between the tropics.

THE vine and olive-tree have experienced the ſame degeneracy. The cultivation of them was at firſt prohibited, with a view of leaving a free market for the commodities of the mother country. In 1706, permiſſion was given to the Jeſuits, and a little afterwards to the marquis Del Valle, a deſcendent from Cortez, to cultivate them. The attempts have not proved ſucceſsful. The trials, indeed, that have been made, have not been abandoned; but no perſon has ſolicited the liberty of following an example, which did not promiſe any great emoluments. Other cultures have been more ſucceſsful. Cotton, ſugar, ſilk, cocoa, tobacco, and European corn, have all thriven in ſome degree. The Spaniards are encouraged to proſecute the labours which theſe cultures require, from the happy circumſtance of their having diſcovered iron mines which were entirely unknown to the Mexicans, as well as ſome mines of a kind of copper that is hard enough to ſerve for implements of huſbandry. All theſe articles, however, for want of men and induſtry, are merely conſumed within the country. There is only the vanilla, indigo, and cochineal, which make part of the trade of Mexico with other nations.

THE vanilla is a plant which, like ivy, grows to the trees it meets with, embraces them cloſely, and raiſes itſelf by their aid. Its ſtem is but very ſmall in diameter, and not quite round. Though

Though it is very pliable, it is yet pretty hard. Its bark is thin, very cloſe, and of a green colour. It is interſected like the vine, with knots which are at the diſtance of ſix or ſeven inches from each other. From theſe knots iſſue leaves reſembling thoſe of the laurel, but longer, larger, thicker, and more ſolid. They are of a bright green colour, their upper ſurface gloſſy, their under a little pale. The flowers are blackiſh.

A SMALL pod about ſix inches long, and four lines broad, wrinkled, flabby, oily, thick though brittle, may be conſidered as the fruit of this plant. The inner part of this pod is lined with a pulp that is browniſh, aromatic, ſomewhat acrid, and full of a black, oily, and balſamic liquor, in which an infinite number of black, ſhining, and almoſt imperceptible ſeeds float.

THE ſeaſon for gathering the pods begins about the latter end of September, and laſts till the end of December. They are dried in the ſhade; and when dry and fit for keeping, they are rubbed externally with a little oil of cocoa or of calba, to render them ſupple, to preſerve them the better, and to prevent them from becoming too dry and brittle.

THIS is nearly all that is known of the vanilla, which is particularly appropriated to perfume chocolate; a practice which has paſſed from the Mexicans to the Spaniards, and from them to other nations. That alone is eſteemed, which grows in the inacceſſible mountains of New Spain. We are equally ignorant how many different ſpecies there

there are of it; which are the moſt valuable; what is the ſoil which ſuits them beſt; how they are cultivated, and in what manner they are propagated. All theſe circumſtances are known only to the natives of the country. It is pretended that they have kept this ſource of wealth to themſelves by taking an oath, that they would never reveal to their tyrants any thing reſpecting the cultivation of the vanilla, and would ſuffer the moſt cruel tortures rather than be perjured. It is more probable that they owe this advantage to the character of their conquerors, who, content with the riches they have acquired, and habituated to lead an indolent life, and to indulge themſelves in ignorance, equally contemn both the curioſities of natural hiſtory, and the reſearches of thoſe who apply to it. But they are better acquainted with indigo.

INDIGO is a kind of plant, whoſe root is three or four lines thick, and more than a foot long, of a faint ſmell ſomething like parſley. From this root iſſues a ſingle ſtem nearly of the ſame thickneſs, about two feet high, ſtraight, hard, almoſt woody, covered with a bark ſlightly ſplit, of a grey aſh colour towards the bottom, green in the middle, reddiſh at the extremity, and without appearance of pith in the inſide. The leaves ranged in pairs around the ſtalk, are of an oval form, ſmooth, ſoft to the touch, furrowed above, of a deep green on the under ſide, and connected by a very ſhort peduncle. From about one third of the ſtem to the extremity, there

there are ears that are loaded with very ſmall flowers from a dozen to fifteen, but deſtitute of ſmell. The piſtil, which is in the midſt of each flower, changes into a pod, in which the ſeeds are incloſed.

THIS plant requires a ſmooth rich ſoil, well tilled, and not too dry. The ſeed of it, which as to figure and colour reſembles gun-powder, is ſowed in little furrows that are about the breadth of the hough, two or three inches deep, at a foot's diſtance from each other, and in as ſtraight a line as poſſible. Continual attention is required to pluck up the weeds, which would ſoon choak the plant. Though it may be ſown in all ſeaſons, the ſpring is commonly preferred. Moiſture cauſes this plant to ſhoot above the ſurface in three or four days. It is ripe at the end of two months. When it begins to flower, it is cut with pruning knives; and cut again at the end of every ſix weeks, if the weather is a little rainy. It laſts about two years, after which term it degenerates; it is then plucked up, and planted afreſh.

As this plant ſoon exhauſts the ſoil, becauſe it does not abſorb a ſufficient quantity of air and dew to moiſten the earth, it is of advantage to the planter to have a vaſt ſpace which may remain covered with trees, till it becomes neceſſary to fell them, in order to make room for the indigo: for trees are to be conſidered as ſyphons, by means of which the earth and air reciprocally communicate to each other their fluid and vegetating ſubſtance; ſyphons, into which the

the vapours and the juices being alternately drawn up, are kept in equilibrium. Thus while the ſap aſcends by the roots to the branches, the leaves draw in the air and vapours, which circulating through the fibres of the tree deſcend again into the earth, and reſtore to it in dew what it loſes in ſap. It is in order to maintain this reciprocal influence, that when there are no trees to preſerve the fields in a proper ſtate for the ſowing of indigo, it is cuſtomary to cover thoſe which are exhauſted by this plant with potatoes or lianes, whoſe creeping branches preſerve the freſhneſs of the earth, and whoſe leaves when burnt renew its fertility.

Indigo is diſtinguiſhed into two kinds, the true, and the baſtard. Though the firſt is ſold at a higher price on account of its ſuperiority, it is uſually advantageous to cultivate the other, becauſe it is heavier. The firſt will grow in many different ſoils; the ſecond ſucceeds beſt in thoſe which are moſt expoſed to the rain. Both are liable to great accidents. Sometimes the plant becomes dry, and is deſtroyed by an inſect frequently found on it; at other times, the leaves, which are the valuable part of the plant, are devoured in the ſpace of twenty-four hours by caterpillars. This laſt misfortune, which is but too common, has given occaſion to the ſaying, that the planters of indigo go to bed rich, and riſe in the morning totally ruined.

This production ought to be gathered in with great precaution, for fear of making the farina

that lies on the leaves, and which is very valuable, fall off by ſhaking it. When gathered it is thrown into the ſteeping vat, which is a large tub filled with water. Here it undergoes a fermentation, which in twenty-four hours at furtheſt is completed. A cock is then turned to let the water run into the ſecond tub, called the mortar or pounding tub. The ſteeping vat is then cleaned out, that freſh plants may be thrown in, and thus the work is continued without interruption.

THE water which has run into the pounding tub is found impregnated with a very ſubtile earth, which alone conſtitutes the dregs or blue ſubſtance, that is the object of this proceſs, and which muſt be ſeparated from the uſeleſs ſalt of the plant, becauſe this makes the dregs ſwim on the ſurface. To effect this, the water is forcibly agitated with wooden buckets that are full of holes, and fixed to a long handle. This part of the proceſs requires the greateſt precautions. If the agitation be diſcontinued too ſoon, the part that is uſed in dying not being ſufficiently ſeparated from the ſalt, would be loſt. If, on the other hand, the dye were to be agitated too long after the complete ſeparation, the parts would be brought together again, and form a new combination; and the ſalt reacting on the dregs would excite a ſecond fermentation that would alter the dye, ſpoil its colour, and make what is called burnt indigo. Theſe accidents are prevented by a cloſe attention

tention to the leaſt alterations that the dye undergoes, and by the precaution which the workmen take to draw out a little of it from time to time in a clean veſſel. When they perceive that the coloured particles collect by ſeparating from the reſt of the liquor, they leave off ſhaking the buckets, in order to allow time to the blue dregs to precipitate to the bottom of the tub, where they are left to ſettle till the water is quite clear. Holes made in the tub at different heights are then opened one after another, and this uſeleſs water is let out.

The blue dregs remaining at the bottom having acquired the conſiſtence of a thick muddy liquid, cocks are then opened, which draw it off into the ſettler. After it is ſtill more cleared of much ſuperfluous water in this third and laſt tub, it is drained into ſacks; from whence, when water no longer filters through the cloth, this matter, now become of a thicker conſiſtence, is put into cheſts, where it entirely loſes its moiſture. At the end of three months the indigo is fit for ſale.

It is uſed in waſhing to give a bluiſh colour to linen: painters alſo employ it in their water colours; and dyers cannot make fine blue without indigo. The antients procured it from the Eaſt Indies; in modern times it has been tranſplanted into America. The cultivation of it, ſucceſſively attempted at different places, appears to be fixed at Carolina, San Domingo, and Mexico. That which is known under the name of Guatimala indigo, from whence it comes, is the moſt

 perfect

perfect of all. New Spain derives very confiderable advantage from this plant; but it gains ftill more from the trade of cochineal.

THE nature of the cochineal, without which neither purple nor fcarlet could be made, and which is found only in Mexico, hath been long unknown, even to nations who made the moft ufe of it. The Spaniards, who are naturally referved, and who become particularly myfterious in any circumftance concerning their colonies, kept a fecret, which every thing induced them to believe was of importance to them. At laft it became known that it was an infect of the fize and form of a bug.

THIS infect, like all animals, has two fexes. The female is ill fhaped, tardy, and ftupid; its eyes, mouth, antennæ, are fixed fo deep, and are fo concealed in the folds of the fkin, that it is impoffible to diftinguifh them without a microfcope. On which account, this animal was for a long time fuppofed to be the feed of a plant.

THE male is very fcarce, and is fufficient for three hundred females or more; it is active, fmall, and flender in comparifon with the female: its neck is narrower than the head, and ftill narrower than the reft of the body. Its thorax is of an elliptic form, a little longer than the neck and head together, and flattened below; its antennæ are jointed, and out of each joint iffue four flender hairs that are difpofed in pairs on each fide. It has fix feet, each formed of diftinct parts.

parts. From the poſterior extremity of its body, two large hairs or briſtles are extended, that are four or five times the length of the inſect. It bears two wings that are fixed to the upper part of the thorax, which fall, like the wings of common flies, when it walks or reſts. Theſe wings, which are of an oblong form, are ſuddenly diminiſhed in breadth at the point where they are connected to the body. They are ſtrengthened by two long muſcles, one of which extends itſelf on the outſide all around the wing, and the other, which is internal and parallel to the former, ſeems interrupted towards the ſummit of the wings. The male is of a bright red, the female of a deeper colour.

THE ſhrub on which both live, called the Nopal or Indian fig, is armed with prickles, and is about five feet high. Its leaves are thick and oval; its flowers large, and its fruit is of the ſhape of a fig. It is filled with a red juice, to which the cochineal probably owes its colour.

THE Indian fig is commonly propagated from one or two of its leaves put in a hole, and covered with earth. The cultivation of it conſiſts only in extirpating the weeds that ſurround it. It muſt often be renewed, becauſe the younger it is, the better and more conſiderable is its produce. It is found in various countries of Mexico, at Tlaſcala, Chalula, Chiapa, and New Galicia; but it is not common. Theſe people never plant it, and the cochineal, which is ſuch as rude nature of itſelf produces, is called wild, and is of little or

 no

no value. The Indians alone of Guaxaca, devote themſelves wholly to this ſpecies of induſtry. They are never diſcouraged either by the continual attention it requires, or by the too common miſfortunes to which it expoſes them. Their intelligence, activity, and eaſy circumſtances, enable them to ſupport a bad harveſt, and wait for a good one. In general, theſe crops are more regular in a dry ſoil, in which the nopal flouriſhes, and under a temperate ſky, where the cochineal is expoſed to fewer accidents, than in thoſe parts of the province where the cold and heat are more ſenſibly felt.

As ſoon as the favourable ſeaſon arrives, the Mexicans, if I may uſe the expreſſion, ſow the cochineals on the plant that is proper for them by faſtening to it little neſts of moſs, that contain each twelve or fifteen inſects. Three or four days after, they lay their little ones, which ſpread themſelves with aſtoniſhing celerity over all the branches. They ſoon loſe this activity, and are ſeen to faſten themſelves to the moſt nutritive and beſt expoſed part of the leaf, from whence they do not ſtir, till they are grown to their full ſize. They do not gnaw the leaf, they only puncture it, and extract the juice with a ſmall trunk, with which nature has provided them for this purpoſe.

Three crops of cochineal are made every year, which are ſo many new generations of this inſect. The laſt produces only an indifferent cochineal, becauſe it is mixed with detached parcels of the leaves, which have been ſcraped in order to take away the new born inſects, which otherwiſe it would

would be hardly poſſible to gather; and becauſe the young cochineals are then mixed with the old; a circumſtance which conſiderably diminiſhes their value. Before the rainy ſeaſon comes on, the branches of the nopal are cut, in order to ſave the little inſects which are on them. Theſe are laid up in the houſes, where the leaves maintain their freſhneſs, as the leaves of all mucilaginous plants. Here the cochineals thrive during the bad ſeaſon. As ſoon as that is paſſed, they are placed on the trees, where the vivifying freſhneſs of the air ſoon makes them propagate.

As ſoon as the cochineals are gathered, they are plunged in hot water to kill them. There are different ways of drying them. The beſt is, to expoſe them to the ſun for ſeveral days, by which means they acquire a red brown colour, which the Spaniards call *renegrida*. The ſecond method is to put them in an oven, where they aſſume a greyiſh colour ſtreaked with veins of purple, which has given them the name of *jaſpeada*. But the moſt imperfect, which is what the Indians moſt generally practiſe, conſiſts in putting them on plates along with their cakes of maize, in which proceſs they are frequently burnt, and are therefore called *negra*.

Though the cochineal is claſſed in the animal kingdom, the ſpecies of all others the moſt likely to corrupt, yet it never ſpoils. Without any other care than merely that of keeping it in a box, it has been preſerved in all its virtue for ages. The high price it always bears ſhould have excited the emulation of thoſe nations which cultivate the

 American

American iſlands, and of other people who inhabit regions, whoſe temperature would be propitious to this inſect, and to the plant on which it feeds. New Spain, however, has the ſole poſſeſſion of this rich production. Independent of what it furniſhes Aſia with, it ſends every year to Europe about two thouſand five hundred bags or ſacks, which are ſold at Cadiz, one with another for * 3300 livres. This is a very conſiderable produce, which hardly coſts the Spaniards any trouble. It ſhould ſeem as if nature had freely beſtowed upon them what they ſell at a high price to other nations. She has been peculiarly bountiful to them, by granting them at the ſame time the productions which yield the moſt riches, and gold and ſilver, by which all productions are purchaſed.

The mines of Mexico.

SUCH is the dominion which theſe ſhining and fatal metals have over us, that they have counterbalanced the infamy and execration, which the plunderers of America juſtly deſerved. The names of Mexico, Peru, and Potoſi, no longer make us ſhudder; and yet we are men! Even at this day, when the ſpirit of juſtice, and the ſentiments of humanity are inculcated in all our writings, and are become the invariable rule of our judgments; a navigator, who ſhould come into our ports with a veſſel laden with riches, avowedly obtained by methods equally barbarous, would land amidſt the general acclamations of the multitude. Where is then that wiſdom, which is ſo

* About 144 l.

much

much the boaſt of the preſent age? What is then that gold, which removes from us the idea of vice, and prevents us from feeling that ſenſe of horror which the ſhedding of blood naturally impreſſes us with? There are undoubtedly ſome advantages annexed to a medium of exchange between nations, to an external repreſentation of all ſorts of value, to a common eſtimate of all labours. But would not greater advantages have ariſen, if nations had continued in a ſtate of tranquillity, detached from each other, ignorant, and hoſpitable, than thus to have become corrupted with the moſt ferocious of all paſſions?

THE origin of metals has not always been well underſtood. It was long thought that they were as old as the creation. It is now believed with greater reaſon, that they are formed ſucceſſively. In fact, it is impoſſible to doubt, that nature is continually in action, and that ſhe exerts herſelf with as much power in the bowels of the earth, as in the regions of the ſky.

EVERY metal, according to the chymiſts, has for its principle an earth which conſtitutes and is peculiar to it. It preſents itſelf to us, ſometimes in the form that characterizes it, and ſometimes under various appearances, when it requires a degree of habit and ſkill to recognize it. In the firſt caſe it is called native, in the ſecond mineralized ore.

METALS, whether native or mineralized, are ſometimes ſcattered by fragments in beds of earth that are horizontal or inclined. But this is not the place of their origin. They have been conveyed

veyed thither by great vulcanos, floods, and earthquakes, which are continually ſubverting our miſerable planet. They are commonly found, ſometimes in regular veins, and ſometimes in detached maſſes, within the rocks and mountains where they were formed.

According to the conjectures of naturaliſts, from theſe large caverns which are perpetually heated, there ariſe continual exhalations. Theſe ſulphureous and ſaline liquors act on the metallic particles, attenuate, and divide them; and put them in motion within the cavities of the earth. They unite again, and then becoming too heavy to ſupport themſelves in the air, they fall, and are heaped up one upon another. If, in their ſeveral motions, they have not met with other bodies, they form pure metals; which they do not if they happen to be combined with foreign ſubſtances.

Nature, which ſeems to have intended to conceal theſe metals, has not been able to ſecrete them from the avidity of man. From repeated obſervations, we are led to diſcover the places where there are mines. They are uſually found in mountains, where plants grow with difficulty, and ſoon fade; where trees are ſmall and crooked; where the moiſture of dews, rains, and even ſnows, is ſoon dried up; where ſulphureous and mineral exhalations ariſe; where the waters are impregnated with vitriolic ſalts; and where the ſands contain metallic particles. Though each of theſe marks, ſeparately conſidered, be ambiguous, it ſeldom

ſeldom happens when all of them are united, but that the earth contains ſome mine.

But what are the terms, on which we extract this treaſure or this poiſon from thoſe caverns, where nature had concealed it? We muſt pierce rocks to an immenſe depth; we muſt dig ſubterraneous channels to carry off the waters which flow in and menace us on every ſide; we muſt convey into immenſe galleries the wood of whole foreſts cut into props; we muſt ſupport the vaults of theſe galleries againſt the enormous weight of the earth which perpetually tends to fill them up, and to bury in their ruins thoſe avaricious and preſumptuous men who conſtructed them; we muſt dig canals and aqueducts; we muſt invent hydraulic machines of aſtoniſhing and various powers, and all the ſeveral kinds of furnaces; we muſt hazard being ſuffocated or conſumed by a vapour which takes fire from the glimmering flame of the lamps, without which the work could not be carried on; and we muſt at laſt periſh by a conſumption which reduces human life to one half of its duration. If we conſider how many obſervations, experiments, and trials all theſe works imply, we ſhall carry the origin of the world far beyond its known antiquity. To ſhew us the gold, iron, copper, tin, and ſilver uſed in the earlieſt ages, is to amuſe us with an idle ſtory which can only impoſe upon children.

When the labour of mineralogy is finiſhed, that of metallurgy begins. Its object is to ſeparate metals from each other, and to detach them from the extraneous bodies which invelope them.

In

In order to ſeparate the gold from the ſtones which contain it, it is ſufficient to break them in pieces and reduce them to powder. The matter thus pulverized, is afterwards triturated with quickſilver, which combines itſelf to this precious metal, but without forming any union, either with the rock, or ſand, or even the earth which were mixed with it. By means of fire, the mercury is afterwards diſtilled, which on ſeparating, leaves the gold at the bottom of the veſſel in the ſtate of a powder which is purified in the coppel. Native ſilver requires no other preparations.

But when ſilver is combined with other ſubſtances, or with metals of a different nature, great knowledge and conſummate experience are requiſite to purify it. Every circumſtance authoriſes us to think that this art is unknown in the new world. It is alſo generally acknowledged that the miners of Germany or Sweden would find in a mine that has already been worked, more wealth than the Spaniard had already extracted out of it. They would enrich themſelves by mines, which through want of ſkill, have been rejected as inſufficient to defray the expences of working them.

The art of the Mexicans, ſuch as it was, was yet infinitely inferior to that of their oppreſſors. They had conſequently leſs ſilver than gold. Theſe metals were not employed by them as a medium of exchange: they were only objects of ornament, or mere curioſity.

For ſome time after their conqueſt, the Spaniards ſpared themſelves the trouble, toil, and expences that are inſeparable from the working of

2 mines,

mines. They wrested from the Mexicans all the metals which they had amassed from the foundation of their empire. The temples, the palaces of the nobility, the houses of private persons, the meanest hovels, were all searched and pillaged. Though the abhorrence the Indians had for their tyrants made them bury again in the ground great part of their treasure, or throw still more into the great lake, and the rivers, yet avarice found enough to satisfy itself. This source being exhausted, it became necessary to attend to the mines.

THESE were at first searched for in all parts, but especially on the sea coasts. Experience having shewn that the mines nearest the ocean, afforded least treasure, they were quitted with disgust. At present no mine is worked that is not at a very great distance from the northern sea, where it would be exposed to the incursions, and, perhaps, to the invasions of the Europeans. The mines that are found on the gulph of California appear to remain in perfect security, 'till these latitudes become better known and more frequented. The chief of them are in the provinces of Zacatecas, new Biscay, and Mexico, situated in the inland parts of the empire, where there are no navigable rivers, and where it is impossible for an enemy to penetrate by land. These mines may employ forty thousand Indians, under the direction of four thousand Spaniards.

THE mines belong to the person who discovers them. The only regulation he is subject to is to have samples approved by the government. As much

much of the ground is granted to him as he chooſes; but he is obliged to give to the owner of the land a piaſtre, or five livres five ſous * per foot. The third of what he purchaſes, belongs to government; which after having abſurdly attempted to get it worked on its own account, at length diſpoſes of it to any one who will purchaſe it, giving the miner the preference. All the mines that are abandoned, become alſo the property of the crown.

The government receives 420 livres † for every quintal of mercury that is uſed. In vain have intelligent people repreſented that this exceſſive tax neceſſarily diſcouraged induſtry; no attention has been paid to their remonſtrances. All the effect they have had is the obtaining of two years credit, for which, however, intereſt is required. It is ſeldom that thoſe who undertake to work mines, are able to proceed without theſe indulgencies. Theſe uncertain and hazardous enterprizes are ſcarcely ever attempted, unleſs by men whoſe affairs are embarraſſed or who are totally ruined.

The point which diſcourages men of prudence and good circumſtances is, the obligation of paying to government a fifth of the ſilver, and a tenth of the gold they have extracted from the earth. The ſtate had a long time objected to this difference of taxation; but has been obliged to conſent to it; becauſe the gold mines being more precarious than thoſe of ſilver, were totally abandoned. Both will ſoon be unable to pay the tribute impoſed on

* About 4s. 7d. † 18l. 7s. 6d.

them.

them. As gold and ſilver become more common in trade, their value is diminiſhed, and they repreſent a ſmaller proportion of merchandiſe. This decreaſing value of metals, would have been attended with ſtill greater conſequences, if the expences of working the mines had not been gradually leſſened. This œconomy is carried very near as far as it can go; and whenever that happens, the court of Madrid will be under a neceſſity of lowering the duties, unleſs it ſubmits to have the beſt mines neglected, as the indifferent ones have been. Perhaps, the government will ſoon be obliged to content itſelf with two reals or twenty-ſix ſous * per mark, which it receives for the duties of ſtamping and coining.

THE mint of Mexico annually coins about 65,000,000 livres †; the ſixth part nearly in gold, the reſt in ſilver. About the half of this paſſes into Europe, a ſixth part into the Eaſt Indies, a twelfth into the Spaniſh iſlands. The remainder is inſenſibly conveyed into foreign colonies, or circulates through the Spaniſh dominions; where it ſerves the purpoſes of the inland trade, and the payment of the taxes, which are conſiderable.

Taxes eſtabliſhed in Mexico.

EVERY male Indian from eighteen to fifty, pays a poll tax of 11 livres 16 ſous ‡, of which eight ninths paſs into the coffers of government, and the reſt is deſtined to various uſes. The Meſtees, who are deemed Indians for the two firſt generations, and the free Mulattoes are ſubject

* 1s. 1d. ½. † 2,843,750l. ‡ About 10s.

to

to the ſame taxation. Negroe ſlaves are exempted from this, as the government receives 280 livres* for each on their entrance into the colony.

The Spaniards, who are not yet ſo far degraded as to have a perſonal tribute impoſed upon them, are ſubject to all the other taxes. The moſt conſiderable of theſe is that of thirty-three per cent. on the value of all the merchandiſe that is ſent from Europe, which retains twenty-five of this under divers denominations, and eight of it is paid upon the landing of the goods in America. Notwithſtanding this ruinous tax, they are ſtill ſubject to the *alcavala*.

The alcavala is a duty on every thing that is ſold or exchanged, and is paid as often as the ſale or exchange takes place. It was eſtabliſhed in the mother country in 1341, and it hath gradually advanced to ten per cent. on the value of merchandiſe ſold in wholeſale, and even to fourteen on all that is diſpoſed of in retail. Philip II. after the deſtruction of his fleet, ſo well known under the pompous title of the Invincible, was determined by his neceſſities to introduce this taxation into Mexico, as well as the other colonies. Though it ought to have been only a temporary tax, yet it has continued ever ſince. It is true, that it has not been augmented, and that it remains at two and a half per cent. as it was at firſt ſettled. The *cruciade* has not had the ſame ſtability.

The cruciade is a bull which allows great indulgencies, permits the uſe of eggs, butter, and

* 12l. 5s.

cheeſe,

cheese, during lent. The government, to whom the court of Rome gave up the benefits arising from it, had divided the persons who were willing to avail themselves of it into four classes. This indulgence was paid by those who lived by their industry, at the rate of two livres six sous *. Those whose capital amounted to 10,500 livres †, paid five livres five sous ‡; those who were worth more than 58,600 livres §, paid ten livres ten sous ||; the viceroy and persons in the high offices of state paid fifty-two livres ten sous **. It was left to every man's conscience, who was apprized that nothing would be gained by not proportioning his contribution to his fortune. Mexico alone then paid about 2,600,000 livres††. It is probable that this superstition has since declined, as the bull was fixed in 1556 by the ministry at forty sous ‡‡ for persons of every rank. Government obliges no one to apply for the indulgence; but the priests would refuse the comforts of religion to those who should not have purchased it; and perhaps there is not in all Spanish America a man sufficiently enlightened, or bold enough to oppose this tyranny.

One species of oppression, not so patiently submitted to, is the duty lately imposed on salt and tobacco. The people, who suffered their former injuries without murmuring, have been highly incensed at these innovations. One of them ap-

* About 2s.
† Near 460l.
‡ About 4s.
§ About 2560l.
|| About 9s. 2d.
** About 2l. 4s.
†† Near 114,000l.
‡‡ 1s. 9d.

peared ſo repugnant to their natural rights, and the other was ſo contrary to one of their moſt favourite inclinations, that though long trained to ſubmiſſion, they at length revolted. The atrocious conduct of the farmers of the revenues greatly added to the diſcontent. It has ſhewn itſelf from one end of the empire to the other, and has at laſt even reached Europe. Some means have been uſed to palliate this evil, but the minds of the people are ſtill in a degree of ferment, that the mother country will not eaſily appeaſe without ſome ſacrifice. One of the moſt agreeable to its colonies would be that of ſtamped paper.

INDEPENDENT of the regular tributes which Spain exacts of her colonies, ſhe raiſes in times of diſtreſs, under the denomination of loan, conſiderable ſums, of which ſhe hath never payed either the intereſt or the capital. This oppreſſion, which began in the reign of Philip II. hath been continued to our time. It was more frequently repeated under Philip V. than in the courſe of the other reigns, which contributed not a little to render the French name odious in theſe countries. The tax which was levied on all who poſſeſſed any fortune, was more ſevere at Mexico than any where elſe; becauſe the Europeans, Creoles, Meſtees, Mulattoes, and eſpecially the Indians, were there in more affluent circumſtances. The public proſperity has been greatly diminiſhed in this country by theſe revenue laws, and is every day ſtill more impaired by the rapaciouſneſs of the clergy.

THE

THE clergy rigorously collect the tenth of every produce. The functions of their profession are paid them at an extravagant price. Their lands are immense, and every day they acquire a greater extent of territory. They are thought to be in possession of the fourth of the revenues of the empire. The bishop of Angelos alone has an income of 1,260,000 livres *. By this wealth the number of ecclesiastics has increased to such a degree, that they now constitute the fifth part of the white people. Some of them were born in the colony; but the greatest part are adventurers come from Europe, in order to withdraw themselves from the authority of their superiors, or to make their fortune expeditiously.

THE revenue of the crown is not what it ought to be. The duties fixed on importations from Cadiz and on the ores, the quicksilver, the poll tax, the imposts, the royal domain, are such great objects, that we cannot avoid being greatly surprised, when we see that the sovereign annually draws from Mexico, though the best conducted of his possessions, no more than about 6,300,000 livres †. The rest, that is to say, almost the whole, is absorbed by the civil and military government of the country, which are both in the utmost disorder.

THE finances are a prey to the vast number of agents that are stationed every where; to corregidors who have the administration of provinces; to the commandants of towns; to three superior

* About 55,100l.

† 276,000l.

councils of juſtice known by the name of Audiences; to men inveſted with full power, or to inferiors who gain the confidence of perſons in office. A part of theſe plunders comes to Europe; the remainder ſerves to maintain the pride, luxury, indolence, and profligacy of a few Mexican towns, but chiefly of the capital.

THE Mexicans, who for a time might have been at a loſs to determine whether the Spaniards were a band of plunderers or a conquering people, ſaw their capital almoſt totally deſtroyed by thoſe cruel wars in which it was engaged. Cortez ſoon rebuilt it; and it has ſince been extended and embelliſhed.

ITS ſtreets are broad, ſtraight, and interſect each other at right angles. The houſes are roomy enough, but have neither convenience nor ornament. None of the public edifices that are ſhewn with the greateſt oſtentation to travellers, recall to the remembrance the finer days of architecture, nor even the better remains of the gothic times. The principal ſquares have a fountain in the center, and are pretty regular; but this is all their merit. There is a walk with a jet d'eau, where eight avenues meet, where the trees have a form and foliage not very agreeable to the eye. Superſtition has amaſſed treaſures from all the quarters of the globe in numberleſs churches, though there is not one that raiſes the ſoul to any ſublime ideas, or that can fill the heart with pleaſing ſentiments.

THE air of this city is very temperate; woollen clothing is worn there all the year. The leaſt precautions

precautions are ſufficient to prevent any inconveniences from the heat. Charles V. aſked a Spaniard on his arrival from Mexico, how long the interval was there between ſummer and winter: *Juſt as long*, replied he, with great truth and wit, *as it takes to paſs out of ſunſhine into the ſhade.*

THE city is built in the center of a great lake, a very narrow ſlip of land divides into two parts. That part of the lake, whoſe water is ſoft, calm, and full of fiſh, falls into the other which is ſalt, generally agitated, and without fiſh. The circumference of this whole lake, which is unequal in its extent, is about thirty leagues.

THERE is no generally received opinion with regard to the origin of theſe waters. According to the moſt common and probable one, they iſſue from a large and lofty mountain ſituated to the ſouth-weſt of Mexico, and the ſalt water runs through a tract impregnated with minerals, which communicate to it that quality.

BEFORE the conqueſt, Mexico and many other towns ſituated on the border of the lake, were expoſed to inundations, which rendered them dangerous to live in. Dikes conſtructed with incredible expence and labour, were not always ſufficient to divert the torrents which poured down from the mountains. The Spaniards have been ſubject to the ſame calamities. Moſt of their buildings, though conſtructed with care, and ſupported on piles, after a few years ſink four, five, or ſix feet in a ſoil that is not firm enough to ſupport them.

BOOK VI.

THESE inconveniences ſuggeſted the idea of a contrivance for draining off the waters. Accounts that were prodigiouſly exaggerated, aſſure us that in 1604, four hundred ſeventy-one thouſand one hundred and fifty-four Indians were employed in digging a canal for this purpoſe. In order to raiſe a fund ſufficient to anſwer the expences, one hundredth part of the value of houſes, lands, and merchandiſe was exacted; a tax hitherto unknown in America. Ignorance, diſcouragements, and particular intereſts made this noble and wiſe undertaking miſcarry.

THE viceroy Ladeyrera, in 1635, thought that it would be of advantage, and even abſolutely neceſſary, to build Mexico on another ſpot. Avarice, incapable of making any ſacrifice; pleaſure, ever afraid of interrupting its enjoyments; idleneſs, which dreads trouble; all the paſſions united themſelves to thwart an idea, which in itſelf was liable to ſome objections.

THE new efforts that have ſince been made to render living in this country as ſafe as it is agreeable, have not proved altogether ſucceſsful; whether this may be owing to their not having been properly exerted, or that nature has thrown inſurmountable obſtacles in the way, Mexico remains ſtill expoſed to the fury of the waters; and the dread of inundations has greatly diminiſhed its population. Moſt hiſtorians aſſure us, that it formerly contained more than two hundred thouſand ſouls; at preſent it has not above fifty thouſand. This number is compoſed of Spaniards, Meſtees, Indians, Negroes, Mulattoes, of

of ſuch a diverſity of heterogeneous races from the white to the black, that among an hundred faces one ſhall hardly find two of the ſame colour.

BEFORE this emigration, riches had increaſed in Mexico to an incredible degree. Every thing which in other countries is made of iron and copper, was here made of ſilver or gold. Theſe brilliant metals, as well as pearls and precious ſtones, were employed to adorn their horſes and ſervants, were uſed for the moſt common utenſils, and for the meaneſt purpoſes. The manners of the country, which are always conformable to the luxury that prevails, correſponded with this ſtile of romantic magnificence. The women, in their palaces, were waited upon by thouſands of ſlaves, and never appeared in public without a retinue, which amongſt us is reſerved for the majeſty of a throne. To theſe extravagancies the men added profuſions ſtill greater for negro women, whom they publicly raiſed to the rank of their miſtreſſes. This luxury, which was ſo enormous in the ordinary courſe of life, exceeded all bounds upon occaſion of the ſlighteſt feſtival. General pride then exerted itſelf, and each man laviſhed millions as an excuſe for his own. The crimes neceſſary to ſupport this extravagance, were previouſly atoned for; as ſuperſtition had pronounced every man holy and juſt who ſhould contribute liberally to the churches.

THE riches, and the pomp naturally attendant upon them, muſt neceſſarily have diminiſhed at Mexico, in proportion as thoſe who poſſeſſed them removed to Angelos and other towns. The

 advantages,

advantages, however, which this capital enjoys of being the center of the empire, the ſeat of government, the place where the coin is ſtruck, the reſidence of the greateſt proprietors of land and of the moſt opulent merchants, have always occaſioned the principal affairs of the kingdom to be tranſacted here.

Connections of Mexico with the reſt of America, with the Eaſt Indies, and with Europe.

THE trade which Mexico carries on with the other parts of America is much confined. By the north ſea it receives from Maracaybo and Caracos cocoa greatly ſuperior to its own, and negroes by the way of the Havannah and Carthagena: it gives in exchange meal and ſilver.

ITS connections with the ſouth ſea are of greater utility to it, without being much more conſiderable. Originally Peru was allowed to ſend annually to New Spain two veſſels, whoſe united cargoes were not to exceed one million ten thouſand livres *. This trade was ſome time afterwards reduced to half. It was totally ſuppreſſed in 1636, on pretence that it prejudiced the trade of the mother country, by the quantity of Eaſt India goods it imported. The merchants of Lima complained a long time, but ineffectually, of a barbarous law that deprived them of the double advantage of ſelling the ſuperfluities of their commodities, and of receiving thoſe they wanted. The communication between the two colonies was at length reſtored, but with reſtrictions which prove that the government had not been actuated by wiſe and political motives, but had only

* Above 44,000l.

yielded

yielded to importunity. Since this period, ſome veſſels diſpatched from Callao and Guayaquil, carry cocoa, wines, and brandies to Acapulco and Sonſonnate on the coaſt of Guatimala, and bring back pitch, tar, arnotto, indigo, cochineal, iron, the haberdaſhery wares of Angelos, and as many contraband goods as poſſible from the Philippine iſlands, ſo celebrated in Europe on account of the connections which they have with Mexico. The importance of this communication ſeems to require that we ſhould trace its origin.

When the court of Madrid, whoſe ambition increaſed with their proſperity, had formed the plan of a great eſtabliſhment in Aſia, their attention was ſeriouſly engaged in conſidering of expedients to inſure its ſucceſſes. This project was neceſſarily attended with great difficulties. The riches of America ſo powerfully attracted the Spaniards, who conſented to a voluntary exile, that it did not appear poſſible to engage them to ſettle at the Philippines, unleſs it was agreed to give them a ſhare in the treaſures of thoſe iſlands. This ſacrifice was reſolved upon. The riſing colony was authoriſed to ſend every year into America India goods in exchange for metals.

This unreſtrained freedom was attended with ſuch important conſequences, that the jealouſy of the mother country was excited. Tranquillity was in ſome meaſure reſtored by reſtraining to 3,150,000 livres * the trade al-

* Near 138,000l.

lowed

lowed to be carried on in future. This ſum was divided into twelve thouſand equal ſhares. Every head of a family was to have one, and perſons in office a number proportioned to their rank. Religious communities were included in this arrangement, according to the extent of their credit, and the opinion that was entertained of their utility. Five hundred of theſe ſhares were allowed to the Jeſuits, whoſe employments and enterpriſes ſeemed to require greater encouragement.

THE veſſels which departed at firſt from the iſland of Cebu, and afterwards from the iſland of Luconia, originally took the route of Peru. The length of this voyage was prodigious. Trade-winds were diſcovered which opened a much ſhorter paſſage to Mexico; and this branch of commerce was tranſacted on its coaſt, where it was ſettled.

EVERY year, in the middle of July, a galleon is ſent out from the port of Manilla, which is commonly from eighteen hundred to two thouſand tons burden. After getting clear of a multitude of iſlands and rocks which delay its courſe, it ſteers eaſt-north-eaſt, in order to meet with the weſt winds in thirty degrees latitude, which carry it on in a ſtraight courſe to the place of its deſtination. This veſſel, which is very heavy laden, is ſix months on her paſſage, becauſe the ſailors who are on board, from their extreme timidity, never carry the main ſail in the night time, and often lower all their ſails without the leaſt occaſion. At laſt the ſhip arrives at Mexico.

THE

The coaſts of this great empire are not like thoſe of Peru, where the vicinity and heights of the Cordeleras afford a perpetual ſpring, and cauſe regular and mild winds to blow. As ſoon as the ſhip has paſſed the latitude of Panama, the free communication of the atmoſphere, from eaſt to weſt, not being any longer interrupted by this prodigious chain of mountains, the climate becomes different. In fact, navigation in theſe latitudes is ſafe and eaſy from the middle of October to the beginning of May; but during the reſt of the year, the violent ſqualls of the weſterly wind, the dreadful ſtorms, the exceſſive rains, the ſuffocating heats, the total calms; all theſe obſtacles, which are either combined, or ſucceed each other, render the ſea troubleſome and even dangerous. Throughout this whole extent of coaſt, which comprehends more than ſix hundred leagues, there is not a ſingle bark to be ſeen, nor even the leaſt canoe, either for trade or fiſhing. Even the ports, which are ſcattered up and down here, are open, defenceleſs, and expoſed to the inſults of any pirate who may be inclined to attack them. The port of Acapulco, where the galleons arrive, is the only one that has attracted the attention of government.

Ships arrive there by two inlets, ſeparated from each other by a ſmall iſland: the entrance into them in the day is by means of a ſea-breeze, and the ſailing out in the night-time is effected by a land breeze. It is defended only by a bad fort, forty-two pieces of cannon, and a garriſon of ſixty men. It is equally extenſive, ſafe, and commodious,

dious. The bason which forms this harbour is surrounded by lofty mountains, which are so dry that they are even destitute of water. The air here is burning, heavy, and unwholesome, to which no persons can habituate themselves, except certain negroes that are born under a similar climate, or some mulattoes. The number of inhabitants in this feeble and miserable colony is considerably increased upon the arrival of the galleons; traders resorting here from all the provinces of Mexico, who come to exchange European toys, their own cochineal, and about ten millions * of silver for spices, muslins, printed linens, silks, perfumes, and the gold works of Asia. After staying here about three months, the vessel resumes its course to the Philippine islands before the first of April, with one or two companies of infantry that are appointed to recruit the garrison of Manilla. Part of the riches with which it is laden remains in the colony, the rest is distributed among the nations which had contributed to form its cargo.

THE long passage which the galleons have to make, has occasioned the necessity of looking out for places where they might take in refreshments. The first that has been met with of this kind, is on the route from Acapulco to the Philippines, in those islands known at first by the name of the Ladrones, and since by that of Marianne islands. They were discovered by Magellan in 1521. They were at first neglected; the galleons afterwards

* 437,500 l.

used

ufed to put in there for refrefhment; but there was no regular fettlement made in them till the year 1678.

THESE iflands are fituated at the extremity of the fouth fea, near four hundred leagues to the eaft of the Philippines. Notwithftanding their pofition in the torrid zone, the climate is moderately temperate. The air is pure, the fky ferene, and the foil fruitful. Before their intercourfe with the Europeans, the inhabitants, who were always naked, lived only on fruits, roots, and fifh. As fifhing was their ufual and fole occupation, they had conftructed canoes, more perfect than any that have ever been found in the reft of the world.

THE people, who are very numerous, and are diffufed in twelve iflands, that are the only inhabited ones in this archipelago, have gradually diminifhed fince the invafion of the Spaniards, either by contagious diforders, or by the bad ufage which they have experienced. The remainder, to the number of two thoufand feven hundred perfons, have collected themfelves in the center of the ifland of Guam, which may have from twenty-five to thirty leagues of circumference. It is garrifoned by a hundred men, who are appointed to defend two fmall forts that are fituated on two harbours, one of which receives a fmall veffel, which every two years arrives here from the Philippine iflands, and the other is deftined to furnifh refrefhments to the galleon. This laft fort is fo bad a one, that the veffel never ftays here more than two days, and in that fhort time it is often expofed to very great dangers. It is very extraordinary, that Spain

has

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has not endeavoured to discover a better harbour, or very singular that no one has been found in such a multitude of islands. California presents an asylum more secure to the galleons that sail from the Philippine islands to Acapulco.

CALIFORNIA is properly a long neck of land which proceeds from the northern coasts of America, and runs along between east and south as far as the torrid zone: it is washed on each side by the pacific ocean. The part that is known of this peninsula is three hundred leagues long, and ten, twenty, thirty, or forty broad.

IT is impossible that throughout such an extent of country, the nature of the soil and the temperature of the air should be every where the same. It may be said, however, that in general the climate here is dry and excessively hot; the ground bare, stony, mountainous, sandy, and consequently barren, and unfit for agriculture and breeding cattle. Amidst the small number of trees that are found here, the most useful is the pitahaya, the produce of which constitutes the principal food of the Californians. Its branches, which are fluted and perpendicular, have no leaves, and it is from the stems that the fruit grows. It is prickly like the Indian chesnut; but its pulp resembles that of the fig, with this advantage, that it is much sweeter and more delicate.

THE sea, which is richer than the land, swarms with most excellent fish of every kind. But the circumstance which renders the gulph of California of more importance, is the pearls, which, in the fishing-

fiſhing-ſeaſon, attract the inhabitants of all the provinces of New Spain.

THE Californians are well made, and very ſtrong. They are extremely puſillanimous, inconſtant, indolent, ſtupid, and even inſenſible. They are more ſwarthy than the Mexicans. This difference of colour proves that the civilized life of ſociety ſubverts or totally changes the order and laws of nature, ſince we find under the temperate zone a ſavage people that are blacker than the civilized nations of the torrid zone.

BEFORE the Europeans had penetrated into California, the natives had no form of religion; and that of their government was ſuch as might be expected from their ignorance. Each nation was an aſſemblage of ſeveral cottages, more or leſs numerous, that were all mutually confederated by alliances, but without any chief. They were ſtrangers even to filial obedience. No kind of dreſs was in uſe among the men, but the women covered thoſe parts which nature intended ſhould be concealed with extreme care.

WHETHER theſe particulars were known or not, certain it is that Mexico was no ſooner reduced, and tranquillity eſtabliſhed, than the plan was laid for the conqueſt of California. Cortez landed there in 1526. He had not even time to take a ſurvey of it, becauſe he was obliged to return to his government, where the report of his death had diſpoſed the people to a general inſurrection. The ſeveral attempts that have ſince been made to form an eſtabliſhment there, have all been unſucceſsful. The endeavours of the court were not

not more fortunate than thofe of individuals. If we pay the leaft attention to the fpirit that directed thefe enterprifes, we fhall find that want of humanity, courage, and perfeverance was the caufe of thefe misfortunes. There was not a fingle expedition that was not ill concerted or imprudently conducted.

SPAIN, difpirited with her loffes and expences, had entirely given up the conqueft of California, when the Jefuits in 1697 folicited permiffion to undertake it. As foon as they had obtained the confent of government they began to execute a plan of legiflation, which they had formed from accurate ideas of the nature of the foil, the character of the inhabitants, and the influence of the climate. Their proceedings were not directed by fanaticifm. They arrived among the favages whom they intended to civilize with curiofities that might amufe them, corn for their food, and apparel which could not but pleafe them. The hatred thefe people bore to the Spanifh name, could not fupport itfelf againft thefe demonftrations of benevolence. They teftified their acknowledgments, as much as their want of fenfibility and their inconftancy would permit them. Thefe faults were partly overcome by the religious inftitutors, who purfued their project with a degree of warmth and refolution peculiar to their fociety. They made themfelves carpenters, mafons, weavers, and hufbandmen, and by thefe means fucceeded in imparting knowledge, and in fome meafure a tafte for the moft ufeful arts, to this favage people; who have been all fucceffively formed into one body.

body. In 1745, they compofed forty-three villages, that were feparated from each other by the barrennefs of the foil and the want of water. This republic will augment, in proportion as the fucceffors of thofe who formed it fhall profecute their labours towards the north, where, according to a plan that was judicioufly concerted, a communication was to be eftablifhed between the miffionaries of the peninfula, and thofe of the continent. They are only divided by the river Colorado.

THE inhabitants of thefe fmall villages fubfift principally on corn and pulfe which they cultivate, and on the fruits and domeftic animals of Europe, the breeding of which is an object of continual attention. The Indians have each their field, and the property of what they reap; but fuch is their want of forefight, that they would fquander in a day what they had gathered, if the miffionary did not take upon himfelf to diftribute it to them as they ftand in need of it. They already manufacture fome coarfe ftuffs. The neceffaries they are in want of, are purchafed with pearls, which they fifh in the gulph, and with wine nearly refembling that of Madeira, which they fell to New Spain and to the galleons; and the ufe of which, experience hath fhewn, it is neceffary to prohibit among them.

A FEW laws, that are very fimple, are fufficient to regulate this rifing ftate. In order to inforce the obfervance of them, the miffionary chufes the moft intelligent perfon of the village; who is impowered to whip and imprifon, the only punifhments of which they have any knowledge.

In all California there are only two garrifons, each confifting of thirty men, and a foldier with every miffionary. Thefe troops were chofen by the legiflators, and are under their orders, though they are paid by the government. The court of Madrid faw no inconvenience in leaving thefe trifling forces in the hands of thofe who had acquired their confidence; and it has been demonftrated to them, that nothing but this expedient could have prevented the oppreffion of their new fubjects.

They will continue happy as long as no mines are difcovered in their territory. If there are any mines, as there is great reafon to prefume from the number there are on the other fide of the gulph, whenever they are found out, the edifice that has been reared with fuch labour and underftanding, will be at once fubverted. Thefe people, like many others, will difappear from the face of the earth. The gold, which the Spanifh government would draw from California, would deprive it of the advantages which its policy may now find in the labours of its miffionaries; who fhould rather be encouraged to purfue their ufeful undertakings. They might, perhaps, enable the court of Madrid to build forts, which would allow them to behold with tranquillity the difcovery of that paffage by the north weft to the pacific ocean, which the Englifh have fo long been in fearch of. It has alfo been imagined that thefe ramparts might prove a barrier againft the Ruffians, who in 1741 advanced within twelve degrees of Cape Mendocino, the moft northern part that has hitherto been known

known of California. But if it had been remarked that this voyage could not be undertaken but from the ſeas of Kamtſchatka, it would have been evident that none but weak armaments could be fitted out there, which could only ſerve to gratify curioſity, and conſequently could not occaſion the leaſt diſquietude.

An advantage more certain, and leſs remote, is the facility which California gives of reducing the provinces that extend from the other ſide of the gulph to the river Colorado. Theſe rich countries are at ſuch a diſtance from Mexico, and ſo difficult of acceſs, that it appeared as dangerous to attempt the conqueſt of them, as uſeleſs to execute it. The liberty, the ſafety of the ſea of California, ought to encourage the undertaking, will furniſh the means of ſucceeding in it, and ſecure the advantages accruing from it. Philoſophers themſelves will invite the court of Madrid to undertake theſe expeditions, as ſoon as they ſhall have ſeen them ſolemnly abjure thoſe fanatical and deſtructive principles upon which their policy has hitherto been founded.

But till Spain ſhall adopt theſe important views, California ſerves for a port of refreſhment for ſhips that ſail from the Philippine iſlands to Mexico. Cape St. Lucas, ſituated at the ſouthern extremity of the peninſula, is the place where they touch. There they find a good harbour, refreſhments, and ſignals which give them information of the appearance of any enemy in theſe latitudes which are very dangerous, and where they have been the moſt frequently attacked. It was in 1734 that the galleon arrived there for the firſt time: where it has

has ever ſince been ordered, or compelled by neceſſity to ſtop.

THE ſyſtem adopted by all the ſtates of Europe of holding colonies in the moſt abſolute dependence on the mother country, has always made the connections of Mexico with Aſia, ſuſpicious to ſeveral of the Spaniſh politicians. The opinion which has prevailed, and is ſtill maintained, that it is not poſſible to preſerve the Philippine iſlands, without this communication, has alone prevented its being broken. Nothing more has been done than to limit it, by hindering Peru from having any ſhare in it. This vaſt empire has by ſevere and repeated laws been deprived of the advantage of drawing directly from the eaſt, the merchandiſe it wanted, and even of the liberty of deriving it indirectly from New Spain.

THESE reſtraints were diſapproved by the bold and fertile genius of Alberoni. Full of the moſt extenſive views for the proſperity and glory of that monarchy which he attempted to reſtore, he purpoſed to retain in it the treaſures of the new world, to which it had hitherto ſerved only as a mart. According to his plan, the eaſt was to furniſh all the articles of dreſs to the Spaniſh colonies and to the mother country itſelf, which would have received them through the channel of its colonies. He expected with reaſon that thoſe powers, whoſe intereſts this arrangement would prejudice, and whoſe trade it would ruin, would endeavour to obſtruct it; but he made preparations for oppoſing their attacks in the European ſeas, and he had already given orders

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for putting the coasts and harbours of the South Sea in a condition not to fear the efforts of any feeble squadrons that might come upon them.

THESE views were defective in point of judgment. Alberoni, hurried away by the enthusiasm of his opinions, and by his hatred against those nations which were desirous of opposing his political designs, did not perceive, that the silks and linens that would be imported into Spain by the way he proposed, would bear such an excessive price, as would necessarily put a stop to the consumption of them. With regard to the project of cloathing the people of North and South America from Asia, it appears to be a very sensible one.

THE colonists would then be cloathed more agreeably, at a cheaper rate, and in a manner better adapted to the climate: the wars of Europe would not expose them to the risque of being in want of the most common and necessary articles of life: they would become more wealthy, be better affected to their mother country, and better enabled to defend themselves against any enemies that might attack them: These enemies themselves would prove less formidable; because they would gradually lose the strength which the furnishing of Peru and Mexico with provisions procures them. In a word, Spain by receiving on India goods the same duties as it receives on those with which it is furnished by its rivals, would lose no part of its revenues. It might even, upon emergences, obtain from its colonies succours, which at present they have

have neither the diſpoſition nor the power of granting. We ſhall inſiſt no longer on the commerce of Mexico with the Eaſt Indies; let us now ſpeak of its connections with Europe by the north ſea, and begin with that which the productions of Guatimala form.

THE province of Guatimala, which is one of the largeſt of New Spain, was conquered in 1524 and 1525, by Pedro de Alvarado, one of Cortez's lieutenants. He built in it ſeveral towns, and in particular the capital, which bears the name of the province. It is ſituated in a valley about three miles broad, and bounded by two mountains that are pretty lofty. From the mountain towards the ſouth run ſeveral rivulets and fountains, which delightfully refreſh the villages that are ſituated on the declivity, and keep up a perpetual ſucceſſion of flowers and fruits. The aſpect of the mountain, that is to the north, is terrible. There is no verdure ever ſeen upon it: nothing but aſhes, and calcined ſtones. A kind of rumbling noiſe, which the inhabitants aſcribe to the boiling of metals that are in a ſtate of fuſion within the caverns of the earth, is continually heard. From theſe internal furnaces iſſue flames, and torrents of ſulphur, which fill the air with an horrible infection. Guatimala, according to the expreſſion of the country, is ſituated between paradiſe and hell.

ITS poſition, and its diſtance from Mexico and Guadalajara, have occaſioned it to be fixed upon for the ſeat of an audience, which extends its juriſdiction over three hundred leagues to the ſouth,

ſouth, an hundred to the north, ſixty to the eaſt, and twelve to the weſt, towards the South Sea. The advantages it derived from this diſtinction ſoon formed it into a conſiderable colony, which took care to improve thoſe gifts that nature had beſtowed upon it. There is no country in this part of the new world, where ſhe hath laviſhed her bleſſings with greater profuſion. The air here is very wholeſome, and the climate very temperate. Poultry and game are in the greateſt plenty, and of an excellent flavour. No ſpot on the earth produces better corn. The rivers, lakes, and ſea, every where abound with excellent fiſh. The oxen are here multiplied to ſuch a degree, that it is become neceſſary to kill all that are grown wild on the mountains, leſt they ſhould prejudice agriculture by their exceſſive numbers.

THIS fertility, however, is not the circumſtance that renders Guatimala ſo valuable to the mother country. Spain has properly no connection with this colony but by means of the indigo ſhe acquires from it; which is far ſuperior to any that the reſt of America produces. In the cultivation of it ſome negroes are employed, and a part of thoſe Indians who have ſurvived the tyranny of their conquerors. The labours of theſe ſlaves annually ſupply Europe alone, with two thouſand five hurdred ſurrons of indigo, which ſell one with another at Cadiz for 1680 livres *. This rich produce is conveyed upon

* 73. 10s.

BOOK VI.

mules, with ſome other articles of leſs conſequence, to the town of St. Thomas, ſituated ſixty leagues from Guatimala, at the extremity of a very deep lake which loſes itſelf in the gulph of Honduras. Here theſe commodities always remain till they are exchanged for others that are brought from Europe in veſſels of a moderate ſize, which commonly arrive in the months of July and Auguſt. On their return, their cargo is increaſed by ſome ſkins, ſome caſſia, and ſome ſarſaparilla, which are the only articles the province of Honduras furniſhes, though it be an hundred and fifty leagues long, and ſixty or fourſcore broad. The reputation it had firſt acquired, from its golden mines, was but tranſitory: they ſank into total oblivion, after having proved the grave of nearly a million of Indians. The territory theſe Indians inhabited remains uncultivated and waſte: it is now the pooreſt part of all America. Both the people and the lands were ſacrificed to the ſearch after gold, and the gold itſelf by no means anſwered the expectations that were formed of it.

GUATIMALA nearly furniſhes the whole of thoſe 6,000,000 livres*, which is the amount of its productions joined to thoſe of Honduras. The lake on which theſe riches are all accumulated is entirely open, though it would have been very eaſy to have ſecured it from every attack; more eſpecially as its entrance is rendered narrow by two high rocks, which project on each ſide within

* 262,500l.

cannon

cannon ſhot of each other. It is probable that Spain will not alter her conduct till ſhe has ſuffered for her negligence; which ſhe might eaſily be made to do.

THE veſſels that ſhould undertake this expedition might anchor in perfect ſafety in the road. A thouſand or twelve hundred men landing at St. Thomas, might paſs over the mountains for the ſpace of fifteen leagues, where they would find commodious roads and ſubſiſtence. The reſt of their way would be acroſs plains that are well peopled and plentiful. They would then arrive at Guatimala, in which there is not a ſingle ſoldier, nor the leaſt fortification. Its forty thouſand ſouls, Indians, Negroes, Meſtees, and Spaniards, who have never ſeen an enemy, would be incapable of making the leaſt reſiſtance. In order to ſave their lives, they would deliver up the immenſe riches that they have been accumulating for more than two centuries, which would amount at leaſt to thirty millions *. The troops would reimbark with this booty, and if they choſe it, with hoſtages, that would ſecure their retreat. The trade of Campeachy would be expoſed to the ſame invaſion, if it were of ſufficient importance to juſtify the undertaking.

BETWEEN the gulphs of Campeachy and Honduras we find a large peninſula, called Jutacan. Though this peninſula has neither river nor brook, the water is every where ſo near to the land, and the ſhells are in ſuch great abundance, that

* 1,312,500l.

it

it is manifeſt this immenſe ſpace was formerly part of the ſea. When the Spaniards diſcovered it, they found few inhabitants there, little agriculture, and no metals, in conſequence of which it was deſpiſed. They afterwards found that the trees which grew there were fit for dying, and they therefore built the town of Campeachy upon it, which became the mart of the valuable production that gave it its name.

If this tree were not ſo thick, it would not be unlike the white thorn. Its leaves are ſmall, and of a pale green colour. The inner part of the tree, which is at firſt red, becomes black after it has been felled ſome time. It is only this inner part that gives the black and the violet colour.

Campeachy has been indebted to the ſingle traffic of this article, for the advantage of being a very conſiderable market. It received every year ſeveral veſſels, whoſe cargoes were diſtributed in the inland countries, and which took in return wood and metals which this exchange drew thither. This proſperity was continually increaſing till the time that the Engliſh ſettled at Jamaica.

Amidst the vaſt numbers of pirates which were continually coming from this famous iſland, ſeveral went to cruiſe in the bay of Campeachy, to intercept the veſſels which ſailed there. Theſe plunderers were ſo little acquainted with the value of the wood, which was the only production of the country, that when they found barks laden with

with it, they took away nothing but the iron utenſils. One of them having carried off a large veſſel which had nothing elſe but the logwood on board, brought it into the Thames, deſigning only to equip it as a privateer; when, contrary to his expectation, he ſold at a very high price the wood which he had thought to be of ſo little value, that he had always burnt it during his voyage. After this diſcovery, the pirates who were not ſucceſsful at ſea, never failed to repair to the river of Champeton, where they took on board the piles of wood which were always found ranged on the ſhore.

THE peace of the Engliſh with Spain having put a ſtop to the depredations of theſe pirates, ſeveral of them employed themſelves in cutting Indian wood. Cape Catoche furniſhed them at firſt with abundance. As ſoon as they perceived it diminiſh, they went to ſettle between Tabaſco and the river of Champeton, about lake Triſte, and in Beef iſland which is very near it. In 1675 their numbers amounted to two hundred and ſixty. Their ardour, which at firſt was extreme, ſoon gave way; and the habit of idleneſs prevailed. As the greateſt part of them were excellent markſmen, the chace became their predominant paſſion; and their former inclination to plunder was rekindled in them by this exerciſe. They ſoon began to make inroads into the Indian towns, the inhabitants of which they carried off. The women they appointed to wait on them, and the men they ſold at Jamaica or other iſlands, The Spaniards rouſed from their lethargy by theſe enormities, ſurpriſed

ſurpriſed them in the midſt of their debaucheries, and carried them off. Moſt of them were even taken in their cottages: they were led priſoners to Mexico, where they ended their days in the mines.

THOSE who eſcaped, took refuge in the gulph of Honduras, where they were joined by ſome wandering freebooters of North America. In proceſs of time they increaſed to fifteen hundred men. The ſtate of independence and plenty in which they lived, rendered the marſhy country they inhabited agreeable to them. Strong intrenchments ſecured them and their proviſions; and they confined themſelves to thoſe employments, which their unhappy companions lamented that they had ever neglected. They only took care not to penetrate into the interior part of the country to cut wood without being well armed.

THEIR induſtry was crowned with the greateſt ſucceſs. In reality, the tun of wood which had been ſold as high as nine hundred livres *, was gradually fallen to a very low price; but this diſadvantage in the price, was compenſated by the quantity that was ſold. The cutters delivered up the produce of their labours, either to the people of Jamaica, who brought them Madeira wine, ſtrong liquors, linens, and cloaths; or to the Engliſh colonies of North America, which ſupplied them with proviſions. This commerce, which was always carried on by ſmugglers, and which occaſioned much clamour, became lawful in 1763. The liberty of cutting logwood was ſecured to

* 39l. 7s. 6d.

Great

Great Britain, but ſhe was not permitted to raiſe forts, and was even obliged to deſtroy thoſe which had been built. The court of Madrid ſeldom hath made any conceſſions with greater regret than this of eſtabliſhing in the center of its poſſeſſions, an active, powerful, and ambitious nation. But there is an expedient to render even this conceſſion almoſt uſeleſs.

THE province of Jucatan is divided from north-eaſt to ſouth-weſt, that is, throughout almoſt its whole extent, by a chain of mountains. To the north of theſe mountains is the bay of Campeachy, whoſe dry and thirſty ſoil produces logwood of a ſuperior quality, which is ſold at all markets at near double the price of that which the Engliſh cut at the ſouthern bay of Honduras, where the rich and almoſt marſhy ſoil produces only a baſtard kind, and which yields much leſs dye. If, as the expreſſions of the treaty, which admit of ſome latitude, lead us to apprehend, Great Britain hath acquired only the right of ſettling in thoſe places which its ſubjects had uſurped, Spain may put an end to her anxiety on this point, by encouraging the cutting of its own wood, which is more valuable, in ſuch a manner as to furniſh all Europe with a ſufficient quantity for their conſumption. By this judicious policy, ſhe will ruin the Engliſh colony, and without force get rid of a neighbour much more dangerous than ſhe imagines; ſhe will then regain an important branch of trade, which for a long time hath been ſo conſiderably reduced, that Campeachy receives from the mother country no more than a ſingle veſſel every three or four years.

years. The wood which cannot be brought away by this ſhip is carried off by ſmall veſſels to Vera-Cruz, which is the true point of union between Mexico and Spain.

OLD Vera-Cruz ſerved at firſt for a mart. This town, founded by Cortez on the very ſpot where he firſt landed, is ſituated on a river, which is dry one part of the year, but which in the rainy ſeaſon is capable of receiving the largeſt veſſels. The danger to which the ſeamen were expoſed in a ſituation where nothing defended them againſt the violence of the winds ſo common in theſe latitudes, induced them to ſeek for more ſecure ſhelter; which they found eighteen miles lower down on the ſame coaſt. There they built new Vera-Cruz at ſeventy-two leagues diſtance from the capital of Mexico.

NEW Vera-Cruz is ſituated in a climate rendered diſagreeable by a burning ſun and by exceſſive heats, and unwholeſome by continual rains. It is bounded on the north by dry ſands, and on the weſt by infectious moraſſes. Its ſtreets are ſtraight, but the houſes are built of wood. No nobility are to be met with here, and the merchants always prefer living at Angelos. The ſmall number of Spaniards, who are fixed either by avarice or by indigence in ſo wretched and dangerous a place, live in a ſtate of privacy and with a degree of parſimony that are unknown in all other commercial places.

THE fortifications of the town conſiſt of a wall, eight towers erected at different diſtances, and two baſtions which command the ſhore. Theſe works, weak

weak in themſelves and ill conſtructed, are in an extremely ruinous ſtate; ſo that for the defence of the place they depend only on the fortreſs of St. Juan de Ulloa, that is built on a rock, fronting the town, and at the diſtance of a mile from it.

THIS harbour has the diſadvantage of not being able to hold more than thirty or thirty-five veſſels, which are not always ſheltered from the northern winds. The entrance into it is by two channels only, which are ſo narrow, as to admit but one ſhip. The ſea in the neighbourhood is likewiſe extremely dangerous on account of ſeveral ſmall iſlands, which the Spaniards called Cayos, and a great number of rocks almoſt even with the ſurface of the water, and ſcarce to be perceived. It was imagined that nothing but a complete knowledge of the ſituation acquired by many years experience, could have ſurmounted theſe obſtacles; but notwithſtanding this, they were overcome by certain deſperate pirates, who ſurpriſed the place in 1712; towers were then conſtructed on the ſhore, where vigilant ſentinels are continually on guard for the common ſafety.

IT is into this harbour, which is properly the only one there is in the gulph, that the fleet arrives, whoſe deſtination is to furniſh Mexico with European merchandiſe. It is fitted out at Cadiz every two, three, or four years, as occaſions and circumſtances require. It ordinarily conſiſts of fifteen or twenty merchant ſhips, and is eſcorted by two men of war, or a greater number, if requiſite.

WINES,

WINES, brandies, and oils, conſtitute the moſt bulky part of the cargo. Gold and ſilver ſtuffs, gold and ſilver lace, cloths, linen, ſilks, laces, hats, jewels, diamonds, and ſpices compoſe the richeſt part.

THE fleet ſets out from Europe in the month of July, but at the lateſt in the beginning of Auguſt, in order to avoid the dangers to which it would be expoſed from the violence of the north wind in the open ſea, eſpecially at the landing places, if it ſhould ſet ſail in any other ſeaſon. In its paſſage it takes in refreſhments at Porto Rico, and repairs to Vera Cruz, from whence its cargo is conveyed to Xalapa. In this town, which is ſituated twelve leagues from the harbour on the back of a mountain, and well built, is held a fair, which is limited by the laws to ſix weeks, but which ſometimes is prolonged at the ſolicitation of the merchants of the country or thoſe of Spain. The proportion which the value of gold and ſilver bears to that of the merchandiſe, is the circumſtance that determines the gain or loſs of exchanges. If one of theſe articles is in greater plenty than the other, great prejudice reſults to the ſeller or buyer. Formerly the royal treaſure was ſent from the capital to Vera-Cruz, to wait the arrival of the fleet there; but ſince this key of the new world was pillaged by pirates in 1683, it waits the arrival of the ſhips and ſtops at Angelos, which is only thirty-five leagues diſtant.

WHEN the tranſactions are finiſhed, the gold, ſilver, cochineal, leather, vanilla, logwood, and ſome goods of inconſiderable value which Mexico furniſhes,

furniſhes, are put on board. The fleet then directs its courſe for the Havanna, where after being joined by ſome regiſter ſhips diſpatched to different ports, it arrives at Cadiz by the channel of Bahama.

In the interval between the ſailing of one fleet and the other, the court of Spain ſends out two men of war which they call Azogues, to carry to Vera-Cruz the quickſilver that is neceſſary for working the mines of Mexico. The quickſilver was originally drawn from Peru; but the commiſſions were ſo uncertain, ſo ſlow, and ſo frequently fraudulent, that in 1734 it was judged to be more convenient to ſend it from Europe. The mines of Guadalcanal at firſt furniſhed the means. Theſe were afterwards forſaken for the richer mines of Almeda in Eſtramadura. The Azogues, to which two or three merchant-ſhips are ſometimes joined that can only carry ſome fruits of Spain, are laden in return with the produce of thoſe goods that have been ſold ſince the departure of the fleet, or of thoſe which had been delivered on credit.

If any thing ſhould ſtill be left behind, it is commonly brought by the ſhips of war which Spain builds at the Havanna, and which always paſs to Vera-Cruz, before they ſet ſail for Europe. Affairs are conducted in a different manner at Peru, as will be ſhewn in the ſubſequent book.

BOOK VII.

Conqueſt of Peru by the Spaniards. Changes that have happened in this Empire ſince that revolution.

BOOK VII.

Expeditions that preceded the diſcovery of Peru.

COLUMBUS had no ſooner gained a firm eſtabliſhment in the iſland of San Domingo than he proſecuted his reſearches. In one of his voyages he diſcovered the Oronóoko, and in the other the bay of Honduras. He clearly ſaw that what he had found was a continent, and his genius led him further than merely to ſuſpect that beyond this continent was another ocean, which muſt terminate at the Eaſt-Indies. It was poſſible that theſe two ſeas might have a mutual communication, and he diligently employed himſelf in finding it out. In order to make this diſcovery, he ſailed as cloſe along the coaſt as poſſible. He touched at all places that were acceſſible; and contrary to the cuſtom of the navigators of his time, who behaved in the countries where they arrived in ſuch a manner as if they were never to return to them, he treated the inhabitants with equity, attention, and humanity, and by this method ſucceeded in gaining their affection. The iſthmus of Darien particularly engaged his obſervation. He thought that the rivers, which poured into it, were an arm of the great ocean, which uniting by a narrow ſtrait, the ſeas of South

South and North America, ſeemed to open to his wiſhes the paſſage and communication he was in ſearch of. After he had explored theſe rivers with extreme attention, and found himſelf diſappointed in his expectations, he contented himſelf with founding a ſettlement. The pride, mercenary diſpoſition, and imprudence of his companions, excited the indignation of the natives of the country, who at firſt appeared tolerably well diſpoſed to permit this eſtabliſhment. The Spaniards were obliged to reimbark and ſail away in veſſels which were not in a condition to keep the ſea any longer.

The intelligence, however, which was obtained, was not entirely loſt. Veſpucius, Ojeda, Lacoſa, Pinçon, Roldan, Nino, Lopez, Baſtidos, Solis, and Nicueſſa, followed the path which Columbus had traced out for them. Theſe adventurers, who had only received from their government a permiſſion to make diſcoveries, in order to ſatisfy the vain glory of the nation rather than to extend its dominions, thought neither of forming ſettlements which might be cultivated, nor of eſtabliſhing commercial connections with the ſmall nations which they diſcovered. The proſpect of fortunes which might have been made in future by theſe prudent meaſures, was an idea too much above the prejudices of theſe barbarous times. Even the reaſoning which might have led them to the knowledge of theſe advantages, would not have imparted a ſufficient impulſe to animate them. Nothing but the allurement of immediate gain could excite men to enterpriſes ſo hazardous as were thoſe

thoſe for which this age was diſtinguiſhed. Gold alone attracted them to the continent of America, and made them brave dangers, diſeaſes and death, which they were expoſed to in the courſe of their voyage, at their arrival, or on their return; and by a terrible but juſt vengeance, the cruelty of the Europeans and their luſt of gold exhauſted at once the two hemiſpheres of their inhabitants, and deſtruction raged equally among thoſe who were the plunderers and aſſaſſins, as among the plundered people.

AMONG the number of villains who ravaged, depopulated, and deſtroyed theſe unhappy coaſts of a world which was no ſooner diſcovered than it was exterminated, there was one man who had naturally an agreeable aſpect, a robuſt conſtitution, an intrepid courage, and a popular eloquence, and who had imbibed ſome principles from a liberal education. His name was Vaſco Nugnes de Balboa. Finding at Darien, where there was a greater abundance of riches than in any other places, a ſmall number of Spaniards whom this circumſtance alone had attracted there, he put himſelf at their head, with the deſign of forming a permanent ſettlement. He found at firſt in the country ſome of that ſame ſpecies of little white men, as are to be met with in Africa and in certain of the Aſiatic iſlands. They are covered with a down of a gliſtening white colour. They have no hair, their eyes are red, and they only ſee well in the night time. They are feeble, and their faculties appear to be more circumſcribed than thoſe of other men. Theſe ſavages were few in number;

number; but others of a different ſpecies were found on the coaſt. Theſe were brave and hardy enough to defend their liberty. They had a very extraordinary cuſtom among them, which was, that the huſbands on the death of their wives, and the wives on the death of their huſbands, uſed to cut off the end of a finger; ſo that by looking on their hands one might ſee whether they were widowers or widows, and how often they had been ſo.

NOTHING has ever been or will probably ever be ſaid, that can ſatisfactorily explain the various perverſions of human reaſon. If the women alone had been obliged to cut off a finger at the deceaſe of their huſbands, it would be natural to ſuſpect that this had been intended to prevent a widow from impoſing upon a ſecond huſband, who might imagine her to be a virgin from having no knowledge of her former connection; a thing very likely to happen among wandering nations. But this conjecture would loſe its force, when applied to the huſbands, whoſe condition could never be a matter of ſuch conſequence, as that it ſhould be carefully indicated by indelible ſigns. This cuſtom hath obtained in other countries; but the following is peculiar to Darien.

WHEN a widow died, ſuch of her children, whoſe tender age rendered it impoſſible for them to provide for their own ſubſiſtence, were buried in the ſame grave with her. As no one would take the charge of theſe orphans, they were maſſacred to prevent their being ſtarved to death. The charity of theſe barbarians extended no further. This is the moſt atrocious act to which the deplorable

plorable ſtate of ſavage life was ever able to impel mankind.

Notwithstanding the ferocity of theſe barbarians, Balboa ſucceeded in diſperſing the inhabitants of Darien, in ſubjecting them or gaining their confidence, and he ſettled his countrymen on their territory.

One day as he was dividing ſome gold with one of his companions, a conteſt aroſe between them. A ſavage, incenſed at a rapaciouſneſs ſo repugnant to his manners, ſhook the ſcales ſo violently, that he overſet all the gold that was in them. *Since you quarrel for ſuch a trifle*, ſaid he to the two Spaniards, *and it is this metal which has made you quit your country, and diſturb ſo many nations, I will lead you to a place, where you ſhall be ſatisfied.* He fulfilled his engagement, and conducted Balboa, with one hundred and fifty Spaniards, acroſs a neck of land ſixteen or ſeventeen leagues long to the coaſt of the South Sea.

Panama, which was built there in 1518, opened a new and extenſive career to the reſtleſsneſs and avarice of the Caſtillians. The ocean, which waſhed its walls, conveyed them to Peru, whoſe riches were boaſted of in this part of the new world, though but in a vague manner. The reports that prevailed concerning the ſtrength of this immenſe empire did not caſt a damp upon that ardour which its treaſures excited; and the world ſaw without aſtoniſhment three men, born in obſcurity, undertake at their own expence to ſubvert a throne that had ſubſiſted with glory for ſeveral centuries.

Francis

Francis Pizarro, who is the moſt known among them, was the natural ſon of a gentleman of Eſtramadura. His education had been ſo neglected that he could not read. Tending of flocks, which was his firſt employment, not ſuiting his character, he embarked for the new world. His avarice and ambition inſpired him with inconceivable activity. He joined in every expedition, and ſignalized himſelf in moſt of them; and he acquired in the ſeveral ſituations in which he was employed, that knowledge of men and things, which is indiſpenſably neceſſary to advancement, but in particular to thoſe who by their birth have every difficulty to contend with. The uſe he had hitherto made of his natural and acquired abilities, perſuaded him that nothing was above his talents, and he formed the plan of exerting them againſt Peru.

To theſe deſigns he aſſociated Diego de Almagro, whoſe birth was equivocal, but whoſe courage was proved. He had ever been found temperate, patient, and indefatigable in thoſe camps in which he had grown old. In this ſchool he had acquired a frankneſs which is more frequently learnt here than in other ſituations; as well as that obduracy and cruelty which are but too common.

The fortune of two ſoldiers, though conſiderable, being found inſufficient for the conqueſt they meditated, they joined themſelves to Fernando de Luques. He was a mercenary prieſt, who had amaſſed prodigious wealth by all the methods which ſuperſtition renders eaſy to his profeſſion,

feffion, and by fome means peculiar to the manners of the age he lived in.

As the bafis of their affociation the confederates mutually agreed, that each fhould engage the whole of his property in this enterprife; that the wealth accruing from it fhould be equally fhared, and that they fhould reciprocally obferve an inviolable fidelity. The parts that each of them were to take in this great fcene, were diftributed as the good of the common caufe required. Pizarro was to command the troops, Almagro conduct the fuccours, and Luques prepare the means. This plan of ambition, avarice, and ferocioufnefs, was completed by fanaticifm. Luques publicly confecrated a hoft; part of which he ate, and divided the reft between his two affociates; all three fwearing by the blood of their God, that to enrich themfelves, they would not fpare the blood of man.

The expedition commenced under thefe horrible aufpices, was not fortunate; the meafures being continually interrupted by famine, ficknefs, and mifunderftanding, by a profound ignorance of the theory of the winds and currents, and by the arms of the Indians; the adventurers found themfelves reduced to the neceffity of returning without having effected any eftablifhment, or done any thing worthy of being tranfmitted to pofterity. At the end of 1526, Panama received the wrecks of an armament, which two years before had excited its jealoufy.

Far from being difcouraged by thefe misfortunes, the three affociates were inflamed with a more

more ardent paſſion for treaſures which were now better known to them. They imagined that they ſhould not fail of acquiring them, if they could diſengage themſelves from a dependence on the governor of Panama, who had oppoſed them, ſometimes openly, at other times clandeſtinely. The court of Spain granted them what they ſolicited, and their courage was now animated to greater exploits. In 1530 they fitted out three veſſels, on board of which they embarked one hundred fourſcore and five ſoldiers, thirty-ſeven horſes, arms, and proviſions. Theſe forces, which were ſucceſſively augmented by ſome inconſiderable reinforcements, were commanded by Pizarro, who after a ſeries of extreme difficulties which his intrepid avarice ſurmounted, at laſt arrived at Tumbez on the frontiers of Peru.

State of Peru when it was diſcovered.

If the Spaniards may be credited, Peru had been an extenſive and civilized empire for four centuries. It had been founded by Manco-Capac, and by his wife Mama-Ocello-Huaco. It has been conjectured that theſe two perſons might be the deſcendents of certain navigators of Europe or the Canaries, who had been ſhipwrecked on the coaſts of Braſil.

To ſupport this conjecture, it has been ſaid, that the Peruvians divided the year as we do into three hundred and ſixty-five days, and that they had ſome notion of aſtronomy; that they were acquainted with the points of the horizon where the ſun ſets in the ſummer and winter ſolſtice, and in the equinoxes; marks which the Spaniards deſtroyed as being monuments of Indian ſuperſtition.

It

It has been aſſerted, that the race of the Incas was whiter than that of the natives of the country, and that ſeveral of the royal family had beards; and it is a known fact, that there are certain features, whether ill-formed or regular, that are preſerved in ſome families, though they do not conſtantly paſs from generation to generation. And laſtly, it has been ſaid, that it was a tradition generally diffuſed throughout Peru, and handed down from age to age, that there would one day arrive by ſea, men with beards, and of ſuch ſuperiority in arms, that nothing could reſiſt them.

If there ſhould be any of our readers diſpoſed to adopt this opinion, they muſt neceſſarily allow that there muſt have elapſed a conſiderable ſpace of time between the ſhipwreck, and the foundation of the Peruvian empire. If this is not admitted, we cannot explain why the legiſlator ſhould not have given the ſavages whom he collected together, ſome notion of writing, though he ſhould not himſelf have been able to read; or why he ſhould not have taught them ſeveral of our arts and methods of doing things; and inſtructed them in certain tenets of his religion. Either it was not an European who founded the throne of the Incas, or we muſt neceſſarily believe that the veſſel of his anceſtors was wrecked on the coaſts of America at an æra ſo remote, that the ſucceeding generations muſt have forgotten all the cuſtoms of the place from whence they ſprang.

It was on an hilly country that Manco at firſt eſtabliſhed his empire. Perhaps, he found there people leſs barbarous, better diſpoſed to receive inſtruction,

inſtruction, and who had already begun to be civilized. It is far from being improbable that ſociety is formed much more ſlowly in countries that are fruitful and abounding in vegetables, than in thoſe to which nature has been leſs bountiful. It is the want men have of aſſiſtance from each other, that more ſtrongly induces them to unite in ſociety; and this reciprocal dependence is more ſenſibly felt on barren mountains, than in fruitful plains.

The two Legiſlators declared themſelves the children of the ſun. Undoubtedly they thought that this prejudice would animate the Peruvians, rouſe their courage, inſpire them with a greater attachment to their country, and make them more obedient to the laws. Was this fiction more abſurd than thoſe which have been ſo warmly embraced by ſome celebrated nations, which ſtill are our guides and our models?

By the help of this illuſion the empire of the Incas had flouriſhed under eleven ſovereigns, who were all prudent, humane and juſt, when the emperor Huana Capac ſeized upon Quito. In order to ſecure the poſſeſſion of it, he married the only heireſs of the dethroned king, from whom he had a ſon named Atabalipa. This young prince, after the death of his father, demanded the inheritance of his mother. His elder brother Huaſcar refuſing to give it up to him, immediate recourſe was had to arms. The moſt ambitious of the two brothers was beaten, taken priſoner, and ſhut up in Cuſco, where he was afterwards ſtrangled. His fortunate rival,

rival, now elevated above his warmeſt expectations, found himſelf maſter of all the provinces.

THESE troubles, which for the firſt time had agitated Peru, were not entirely appeaſed, when the Spaniards landed in the empire. The inhabitants who were deſirous of appeaſing the ſun, which they believed was incenſed againſt them, loaded theſe ſtrangers with preſents, ſhewed them the kindeſt offices, and manifeſted a reſpect for them which bordered on adoration. In the confuſion in which the whole kingdom was ſtill involved, no one thought of oppoſing Pizarro's march, who reached without the leaſt obſtruction to the palace of Caxamalca. He was but juſt arrived, when he received from Atabalipa, who was not far diſtant, a preſent of fruits, corn, emeralds, and ſeveral vaſes of gold and ſilver. The reception which the court gave to his brother Fernando, correſponded with theſe advances. Civilities, treaſures, and marks of diſtinction were beſtowed upon him with the greateſt profuſion. The emperor did not diſſemble his deſire that the Spaniards would quit his provinces, and he publicly declared that he would go the next morning to concert with their chief proper meaſures for this retreat.

To put himſelf in readineſs for an engagement without ſuffering the leaſt preparation of war to be perceived, was the only diſpoſition that Pizarro made for the reception of the prince. He planted his cavalry in the gardens of the palace, where they could not be ſeen: the infantry was in the court, and his artillery was pointed towards the gate where the emperor was to enter.

ATABALIPA

ATABALIPA came without ſuſpicion to the place appointed. He was attended by about fifteen thouſand men. He was carried on a throne of gold, and gold glittered in the arms of his troops. He turned to the principal officers, and ſaid to them: *Theſe ſtrangers are the meſſengers of the Gods; be careful of offending them.*

THE proceſſion was now pretty near the palace, which was occupied by Pizarro, when a dominican, named Vincent de Valverdo, with a crucifix in one hand, and his breviary in the other, came up to the emperor. He ſtopped him in his march, and, by his interpreter, made him a long ſpeech, in which he expounded to him the chriſtian religion, preſſed him to embrace that form of worſhip, and propoſed to him to ſubmit to the king of Spain, to whom the pope had given Peru.

THE emperor, who heard him with a great deal of patience, replied, *I am very willing to be the friend of the king of Spain, but not his vaſſal; the pope muſt ſurely be a very extraordinary man, to give ſo liberally what does not belong to him. I ſhall not change my religion for another; and if the chriſtians adore a God who died upon a croſs, I worſhip the ſun, who never dies.* He then aſked Vincent where he had learned all that he had ſaid of God and the creation. *In this Book*, replied the monk, preſenting at the ſame his breviary to the emperor. Atabalipa took the book, examined it on all ſides, fell a laughing, and throwing away the breviary, added, *This book tells me nothing of all this.* Vincent then turned towards the Spaniards,

Spaniards, crying out with all his might, *Vengeance, my friends, vengeance. Chriſtians, do you not ſee how he deſpiſes the goſpel? Kill theſe dogs, who trample under foot the law of God.*

THE Spaniards, who probably had with difficulty reſtrained that fury, and that thirſt of blood which the ſight of the gold and of the infidels had inſpired them with, inſtantly obeyed the dominican. Let the reader judge of the impreſſion that muſt have been made on the Peruvians by the ſight of the horſes who trampled upon them, and by the noiſe and effect of the cannon and muſketry which beat them down. They fled with ſuch precipitation, that they fell one upon another. A dreadful maſſacre was made of them. Pizarro himſelf advanced towards the emperor, made his infantry put to the ſword all that ſurrounded his throne, took the monarch priſoner, and purſued all the reſt of the day thoſe who had eſcaped the ſword of his ſoldiers. A multitude of princes of the race of the Incas, the miniſters. the flower of the nobility, all that compoſed the court of Atabalipa, were maſſacred. Even the crowd of women, old men, and children, who were come from all parts to ſee their emperor and the Spaniards, were not ſpared. Whilſt this carnage continued, Vincent ceaſed not to animate the aſſaſſins who were tired with ſlaughter, exhorting them to uſe not the edge but the point of their ſwords, to inflict deeper wounds. When the Spaniards returned from this infamous maſſacre, they paſſed the night in drunkenneſs, dancing, and all the exceſſes of debauchery.

IN

In the mean time Pizarro's thoughts were engaged in contriving how he ſhould get rid of his priſoner. Vincent ſaid that he was a hardened prince, who ought to be treated like Pharaoh. There was in the train of the Spaniſh general, an Indian who had embraced the chriſtian faith. His name was Philipillo, and he was employed as interpreter. He was fixed upon to frame an accuſation againſt the emperor for having deſigned to excite his ſubjects to rebel againſt the tyrants. On this ſole depoſition, Atabalipa was condemned to death. The Spaniards had the effrontery to bring him to a formal trial, and this atrocious farce was followed with thoſe horrid conſequences, that muſt neceſſarily be expected from it.

After this judiciary aſſaſſination, Pizarro penetrated into the inland parts of the empire. Cuſco opened to him its gates, and offered him more treaſures, than there were perhaps in all Europe before the diſcovery of the new world. Theſe treaſures became the ſpoil of two hundred Spaniards, who, though in poſſeſſion of ſuch immenſe riches, ſtill deſired more, impelled by that thirſt of gold which increaſes in proportion as it is gratified. Temples and private houſes were ſtripped from one end of the kingdom to the other. The Peruvians were oppreſſed in all parts, and rapes committed every where on their wives and daughters.

The people driven to deſperation took up arms, and laid ſiege at once to Cuſco and Lima: but theſe unfortunate men in ſeveral engagements were not able to deſtroy more than ſix hundred of their enemies; who continually receiving freſh ſupplies, were

were at laſt univerſally victorious. In a little time the Spaniards in Peru amounted to the number of three thouſand muſketeers, without reckoning pikemen, archers, and cavalry. The Peruvians were under a neceſſity of ſubmitting to the yoke, ſuch as the tyrants choſe to impoſe on them.

A REVOLUTION ſo remarkable hath been a ſubject of aſtoniſhment to all nations. Peru is a country very difficult of acceſs, where one muſt continually climb mountains, and perpetually march in narrow paſſes and defiles. Troops are there obliged to be inceſſantly paſſing and repaſſing torrents and rivers, the banks of which are always ſteep. Four or five thouſand men, with a moderate ſhare of courage and ſkill, might deſtroy the moſt numerous and beſt diſciplined armies. How then could it poſſibly happen, that a whole nation did not even attempt to diſpute a territory, the nature of which was ſo well known to them, againſt a few plunderers who had not the leaſt idea of it?

THIS extraordinary event cannot be otherwiſe accounted for, than by conſidering, that the Peruvians were ſeized with ſudden fear, which was the effect of their ignorance and aſtoniſhment; that their diſorderly multitude could not ſtand againſt a ſmall number of diſciplined forces, and that courage unarmed could not reſiſt cannon ſhot. Thus without having recourſe to that vain prophecy, which proclaimed the Spaniards as the avengers of the Gods, Peru muſt neceſſarily have been ſubdued, even though the domeſtic diſſentions with which it was then agitated, had not facilitated its ſubjection.

THE

THE empire which now received the Spaniſh yoke had been governed for four centuries, or perhaps more, by a race of conquerors, who appeared to have extended their conqueſts with no other view than to promote the happineſs of the human ſpecies. They deſcended from a legiſlator, who could not, perhaps, have been paralleled in hiſtory, if Confucius had not had one advantage over him, that of not having introduced ſuperſtition, to inſure allegiance and obedience to his laws.

MANCO Capac, who collected together the ſavages of Peru that were ſcattered among the foreſts, ſtyled himſelf the offspring of the ſun, who was ſent by his father to teach men to be good and happy. He perſuaded a great number of ſavages to follow him, and he founded the city of Cuſco.

HE taught his new ſubjects to cultivate the ground, to ſow corn and pulſe, to wear cloaths, and to build houſes. His wife taught the Indian women to ſpin, to ſmooth cotton and wool; and inſtructed them in all the occupations ſuitable to their ſex, and in all the arts of domeſtic œconomy.

HE told them they muſt adore the ſun; he built temples to this luminary, and aboliſhed human ſacrifices, and even thoſe of animals. His deſcendents were the only prieſts of his nation.

To a religion replete with ſentiments of humanity were joined parental laws. A moſt wiſe inſtitution enjoined that a young man, who ſhould commit a fault, ſhould be ſlightly puniſhed; but that his father ſhould be reſponſible for him. Thus it

was that ſound morals were always inculcated by a good education.

Polygamy was prohibited; and adultery in both ſexes puniſhed. No one was allowed to have concubines except the emperor, and that becauſe the race of the ſun could not be too much multiplied. Theſe concubines were ſelected from among the virgins conſecrated to the temple.

Idleness was puniſhed as the ſource of wickedneſs, and therefore as the greateſt of crimes. Thoſe who from age and infirmities were rendered unfit for labour, were maintained at the public charge; but on condition that they ſhould preſerve the cultivated lands from the birds. Every one was obliged to make his own ſhoes, manage his own houſe, and conſtruct his plough. Women made the apparel, and every ſeparate family knew how to ſupply its own wants.

The Peruvians were enjoined to love one another, and every circumſtance induced them to it. Thoſe common labours, which were alway enlivened by agreeable ſongs; the object itſelf of theſe labours, which was to aſſiſt every one who had occaſion for ſuccour; that apparel that was made by young women devoted to the worſhip of the ſun, and diſtributed by the emperor's officers to the poor, to the aged, and to orphans; that union which muſt neceſſarily reign in the decuries, where every one was mutually inſpired with reſpect for the laws, and with the love of virtue, becauſe the puniſhments that were inflicted for the faults of one individual, fell on the whole body; that cuſtom of regarding each other as members of one ſingle

ſingle family, which was the empire; all theſe circumſtances united, maintained among the Peruvians, concord, benevolence, patriotiſm, and a certain public ſpirit; and contributed as much as poſſible to ſubſtitute the moſt ſublime and amiable virtues, in lieu of perſonal intereſt, of the ſpirit of property, and of the uſual incentives employed by other legiſlators.

THESE virtues were rewarded with marks of diſtinction, as much as if they had been ſervices rendered to the country. Thoſe who had ſignalized themſelves by an exemplary conduct, or by any diſtinguiſhed actions of advantage to the public good, wore, as a mark of ornament, cloaths wrought by the family of the Incas. It is very probable that thoſe ſtatues, which the Spaniards pretended that they found in the temples of the ſun, and which they took for idols, were the ſtatues of men, who by the greatneſs of their talents, or by a life replete with illuſtrious actions, had merited the homage or love of their fellow-citizens.

THESE great men were alſo uſually the ſubjects of poems compoſed by the family of the Incas for the inſtruction of the people.

THERE was another ſpecies of poetry conducive to morality. At Cuſco, and in all the other towns of Peru, tragedies and comedies were performed. The firſt were leſſons of duty to the prieſts, warriors, judges, and perſons of diſtinction, and repreſented to them models of public virtue. Comedies ſerved for inſtruction to perſons of inferior rank, and taught them the exerciſe of private virtues, and even of domeſtic œconomy.

THE whole ſtate was diſtributed into decuries, with an officer that was appointed to ſuperintend ten families that were intruſted to him. A ſuperior officer had the ſame inſpection over fifty families, others over a hundred, five hundred, and a thouſand.

THE decurians, and the other ſuperintending officers up to the ſuperintendant of a thouſand, were obliged to give an account to the latter of all actions whether good or bad, to ſolicit puniſhments and rewards for each, and to give information if there was any want of proviſions, cloaths, or corn for the year. The ſuperintendant of a thouſand made his report to the miniſter of the Inca.

THE laws were ſevere, but this ſeverity was attended only with good effects. The Peruvians were ſtrangers to crimes. All their laws were reputed to come to them from the ſun, which threw light upon their actions. Thus the violation of a law became a ſacrilege. They even went of their own accord to reveal their moſt ſecret faults, and to ſolicit permiſſion to expiate them. They told the Spaniards, that there never had been one man of the family of the Incas, who had deſerved puniſhment.

THE lands of the kingdom, that were ſuſceptible of cultivation, were divided into three parts, one appropriated to the ſun, another to the Inca, and the third to the people. The firſt were cultivated in common, as were likewiſe the lands of orphans, of widows, of old men, of the infirm, and of the ſoldiers who were with the army. Theſe were cultivated immediately after the lands appropriated

appropriated to the ſun, and before thoſe of the emperor. The ſeaſon of this labour was announced by feſtivals: it was begun and continued with the ſound of muſical inſtruments, and the chanting of hymns.

The emperor levied no tribute, and exacted nothing from his ſubjects, but that they ſhould cultivate his lands; the whole produce of which, being depoſited in public magazines, was ſufficient to defray all the expences of the empire.

The lands dedicated to the ſun, provided for the maintenance of the prieſts and for the expence of conſecrating thoſe magnificent temples that were covered with gold, and whoſe roofs were of ſilver.

With regard to the lands that were in the poſſeſſion of individuals, they were neither hereditary, nor even eſtates for life: the diviſion of them was continually varying, and was regulated with ſtrict equity according to the number of perſons which compoſed every family. There was no other wealth, but what aroſe from the produce of the fields, the temporary enjoyment of which was all that was granted by the ſtate.

This cuſtom of moveable poſſeſſions has been univerſally cenſured by men of underſtanding. It has been their general opinion, that a nation would never riſe to any degree of power or greatneſs, but by fixed, and even hereditary property. If it were not for the firſt of theſe, we ſhould ſee on the globe only wandering and naked ſavages, miſerably ſubſiſting on ſuch fruits and vegetables, as are the ſole and ſcanty production of rude nature. If it were not for the ſecond, every individual

vidual would live only for himſelf; mankind would be deprived of every permanent advantage, that paternal affection, the love of a family name, and the inexpreſſible delight we feel in acting for the good of poſterity, urge us to purſue. The ſyſtem of ſome bold ſpeculators, who have regarded property, and particularly that ſpecies of it which is hereditary, as an uſurpation of ſome members of ſociety over others, is refuted by the fate of all thoſe inſtitutions in which their principles have been reduced to practice. Theſe ſtates have all fallen to ruin, after having languiſhed for ſome time in a ſtate of depopulation and anarchy. Peru alone hath proſpered on ſo uncertain a baſis.

THE reaſon probably is, that the Incas not knowing the uſe of impoſts, and having only commodities in kind to ſupply the neceſſities of government, muſt have been obliged to ſtudy how to multiply them. They were aſſiſted in the execution of this project by their miniſters, by inferior officers, and by the ſoldiers themſelves, who received nothing but the fruits of the earth for their ſubſiſtence and the ſupport of their rank. Hence aroſe a continual ſolicitude to increaſe theſe productions. This attention might have for its principal object, the introduction of plenty into the lands of the ſovereign: but his patrimony was ſo mixed and confounded with that of his ſubjects, that it was not poſſible to fertilize the one without fertilizing the other. The people encouraged by theſe advantages, which left little ſcope to their induſtry, applied themſelves to labours, which the nature of their ſoil, of their climate, and

and of their consumptions rendered very easy. But notwithstanding all these advantages; notwithstanding the ever active vigilance of the magistrate; notwithstanding the certainty, that their harvests would never be ravaged by a restless neighbour; the Peruvians never enjoyed any thing more than the mere necessaries of life. We may venture to assert that they would have acquired the means of diversifying and extending their enjoyments, if their talents had been excited by the introduction of rented, transferable and hereditary property.

The Peruvians, though at the very source of gold and silver, knew not the use of coin. They had neither commerce nor luxury; and the more minute arts, which owe their existence to the immediate wants of social life, were in a very imperfect state among them. They had not even hieroglyphics, which among all nations were the first essays towards writing; and their *quippos*, which supplied the place of writing among them, were not so useful as the hieroglyphics of the Mexicans, nor even as those of the Iroquois.

But the Peruvians having neither property, nor trade, nor scarce any connection of mutual interest; moreover being governed by masters, whose will framed all those transitory laws, which regulated their manners, had very little occasion for writing. All their sciences consisted in memory, and all their arts in example. They learned their religion and their history by hymns, and their duties and professions by labour and imitation.

BOOK VII.

THEIR legiſlation was undoubtedly very imperfect and limited, ſince it ſuppoſed the prince always juſt and infallible, and the magiſtrates poſſeſſed of as much integrity as the prince. Among a civilized people who had not the art of writing, the laws muſt have been fatal, when their cuſtoms did not determine the application and uſe of them; when not only the monarch, but his deputies, a ſuperintendant of ten, of a hundred, or of a thouſand, might change at pleaſure the deſtination of puniſhments and rewards. Among ſuch a people, the wiſeſt laws being deſtitute of all preciſion and ſtability, muſt inſenſibly be corrupted, nor would there be a poſſibility of reſtoring them to their primitive character.

The counterpoiſe to theſe dangers was found in their abſolute ignorance of gold and ſilver coin; an ignorance, which in a Peruvian deſpot rendered the fatal paſſion of amaſſing riches impoſſible. It was found in the conſtitution of the empire, which had fixed the amount of the ſovereign's revenue, by ſettling the portion of lands that belonged to him. It was found in the extremely ſmall number and moderate nature of the wants of the people, which being eaſily gratified, rendered them happy and attached to the government. It was found in the influence of their religious opinions, which made the obſervation of the laws a matter of conſcience. Thus was the deſpotiſm of the Incas founded on a mutual confidence between the ſovereign and the people; a confidence, which reſulted from the beneficence of the prince, from the conſtant protection he granted to all his

ſubjects,

ſubjects, and from the evident intereſt they had to continue in obedience to him.

A SPIRIT of pyrrhoniſm, which hath ſucceeded to a blind credulity, and hath been ſometimes carried to unjuſtifiable lengths, hath for ſome time endeavoured to raiſe objections to what has been juſt related of the laws, manners, and happineſs of antient Peru. This account hath appeared to ſome philoſophers as chimerical, and formed only by the naturally romantic imagination of a few Spaniards. But among the deſtroyers of this diſtinguiſhed part of the new world, was there a ſingle ruffian ſufficiently enlightened to invent a fable ſo conſiſtent in all its parts? Was there any one among them humane enough to wiſh to do it, if he had even been equal to the taſk? Would he not rather have been reſtrained by the fear of increaſing that hatred, which ſo many cruelties had brought on his country throughout the whole world? Would not the fable have been contradicted by a multitude of witneſſes, who would have ſeen the contrary of what was publiſhed with ſo much pomp? The unanimous teſtimony of contemporary writers, and of their immediate ſucceſſors, ought to be regarded as the ſtrongeſt hiſtorical demonſtration that can poſſibly be deſired.

IT is not the ſame with regard to thoſe exaggerated relations, which the conquerors of Peru publiſhed concerning the grandeur and magnificence of the monuments of all kinds that they had found there. The deſire of adding great luſtre to the glory of their triumphs, might poſſibly miſlead

lead them. Perhaps, without being convinced themſelves, they ſtudied to impoſe on their own country and on foreign nations. The firſt teſtimonies, and thoſe even were contradictory, have been invalidated by ſucceeding accounts, and at laſt totally deſtroyed, when men of enlightened underſtandings had viſited this celebrated part of the new hemiſphere.

We muſt, therefore, conſider as fabulous the report of that prodigious multitude of towns built with ſo much labour and expence. If there were ſo many ſuperb cities in Peru, why do none exiſt, except Cuſco and Quito, beſides thoſe the conqueror built? Whence comes it that we do not find even the ruins of any of thoſe, of which ſuch pompous deſcriptions have been publiſhed?

We muſt conſider as fabulous the account of thoſe majeſtic palaces deſtined for the accommodation of the Incas, in the place of their reſidence and in their travels. The royal manſions ſo much boaſted of, were nothing but flints placed one upon another, and covered with a reddiſh clay.

We muſt conſider as fabulous the relation of thoſe fortified places, which defended the frontiers of the empire. Would it have been conquered in ſo ſhort a time, if it had been furniſhed with ſuch conſiderable means of defence? M. de la Condamine, who viſited with that ſcrupulous attention that diſtinguiſhes him, the fort of Cannar, which is the beſt preſerved, and the moſt conſiderable after that of Cuſco, found it to be of very ſmall extent, and only ten feet high. A people, who knew not the uſe of pullies, could hardly

hardly raiſe their buildings higher. The ſize of the ſtones, that were employed in building theſe fortreſſes, has not been leſs exaggerated. After the moſt careful examination, there was not found any one of a remarkable ſize. When theſe ſtones were to be tranſported, cords were faſtened to them, and a number of men, puſhed, drew, and rolled the weight along. A nation which had made no greater progreſs in mechanics, could not execute any great deſigns.

WE muſt conſider as fabulous the hiſtory of thoſe reſervoirs, and aqueducts, that are ſaid to have been worthy of the antient Romans. Neither of them were ever to be found in Peru, unleſs we chooſe to honour with theſe magnificent names, certain trenches that were made wherever there was an opportunity on the declivity of hills, to collect rain or ſpring water, and conduct it into the fields and vallies.

WE muſt alſo conſider as fabulous the diſplay of thoſe ſuperb roads, which rendered communication ſo eaſy. The great roads of Peru were nothing more than two rows of ſtakes diſpoſed in a line, and intended for no other purpoſe but to point out the way to travellers. There was no road of any conſequence, except that which bore the name of the Incas, and which traverſed the whole empire. This, which was the moſt beautiful monument of Peru, was entirely deſtroyed during the civil wars of the conquerors.

WE muſt alſo conſider as fabulous what has been ſaid of thoſe bridges, which are ſo much boaſted of. How could the Peruvians who were ignorant of

of the method of conſtructing arches, raiſe ſtone bridges? But had they even been acquainted with this art, would not their want of lime have rendered it almoſt impracticable? It is certain, however, that the traveller was every moment ſtopped in his paſſage by a great number of torrents he met with among the mountains. To enable him to paſs theſe, a long cord of oſier, on which ſlid a baſket, that held at moſt four men, was extended from one bank to the other. The number of cords was afterwards multiplied, and hurdles were fixed upon them, by which a greater number of people croſſed at the ſame time. The Spaniards, who ſeem born to deſtroy and not to build, have not failed to adopt ſo marvellous an invention.

We muſt alſo conſider as fabulous what hath been written on the ſignification of *quippos*. Theſe were, ſay the Spaniards, regiſters made of cords, in which, by means of different knots and different colours, the Peruvians expreſſed every thing they wiſhed. The remembrance of any eſſential points of hiſtory, manners, and ceremonies, was perpetuated by knots; and ſmall ſtrings tied to the principal cords recalled to their minds circumſtances of leſs importance. Theſe memoirs were depoſited in the cuſtody of officers appointed by public authority, and an entire confidence was placed in their integrity. In reality, theſe ſingular annals exhibited no regular narrative, and could only ſerve for certain calculations, or for preſerving the memory of ſome particular event.

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The Spaniards do not deſerve more credit, when they tell us of thoſe baths that were made of ſilver and gold, as well as the pipes that ſupplied them; of thoſe gardens full of trees, whoſe flowers were of ſilver and the fruit gold, and where the eye being deceived miſtook art for nature; of thoſe fields of maize, the ſtems of which were of ſilver, and the ears of gold; of thoſe baſſo-relievos, in which the herbs and plants were ſo admirably exhibited, that whoever ſaw was tempted to gather them; of thoſe dreſſes covered over with grains of gold more delicate than the ſeed of pearl, and the workmanſhip of which the ableſt artiſts of Europe could not have equalled. We ſhall not ſay, that theſe works were not worthy to be preſerved, becauſe they never have been. If the Greek ſtatuaries in their compoſitions had only employed precious metals, it is probable that few of the capital productions of Greece would have reached us. But if we may judge of what hath periſhed by what ſtill remains, we may be certain that the Peruvians had made no progreſs in the art of deſigning. The vaſes which have eſcaped the ravages of time, will ſerve as a ſignal proof of the induſtry of the Indians to ſupply their want of iron tools, but they will never be conſidered as monuments of their genius. Several figures of animals, and of inſects in maſſive gold, which were long preſerved in the treaſury of Quito, were not more perfect. We cannot any longer judge of them, for they were melted down in 1740, in order to furniſh ſuccours for Carthagena, that was then beſieged by the Engliſh; and there was not found in all Peru, a

 Spaniard

Spaniard curious enough to purchaſe a ſingle piece at the bare weight.

From what has been ſaid, it appears clearly, that the Peruvians had made ſcarce any advances in the abſtract ſciences; they even wanted words to expreſs moral or metaphyſical ideas. Moſt of the ſciences depend on the progreſs of the arts, and theſe on accidents which do not occur naturally but in a courſe of ſeveral centuries, and of which the greateſt part never happen among people who have no intercourſe with enlightened nations.

If we reduce all theſe accounts to the ſimple truth, we ſhall find that the Peruvians had arrived at the art of fuſing gold and ſilver; that they even poſſeſſed the ſecret, which is loſt in Europe, of giving copper a temper like to that we give to ſteel; but that, though they were acquainted with iron, they had never arrived at the knowledge of forging that metal, which is the very foundation of all arts. They never conceived the idea of baking bricks or tiles, the materials of which they had always at hand. They executed however things leſs commodious and more difficult. The view of torrents, which they ſaw hollowing out beds for themſelves in rocks, probably gave them the idea of cutting ſtones. With hatchets of flint, and inceſſant friction, they contrived to ſquare them, to make them anſwer to each other, to give them the ſame height, and to join them without cement. Unfortunately theſe inſtruments had not the ſame effect on wood, as they had upon ſtone. Thus it happened, that the ſame men who ſhaped the granite, and who drilled the

the emerald, never knew how to join timber by mortifes, tenons, and pins; it was faftened to the walls only by rufhes. The moft remarkable buildings had only a covering of ftraw, fupported by poles, like the tents of our armies. They had only one floor, had no light but by the entrance, and it confifted only of detached apartments, that had no communication with each other.

BUT whatever were the arts, which the Spaniards found in the country of the Incas, they could not prevent the empire from fubmitting to its conquerors. A moment of refiftance longer, and, perhaps, the Peruvians had been free. The conquerors had differences to fettle among themfelves, which did not admit of a divifion of their forces.

Civil wars of the Spaniards after their conqueft of Peru.

THE firft intelligence of Pizarro's fuccefs had no fooner been carried to Panama, but Almagro, his principal affociate, fet out with the utmoft expedition with new adventurers to fhare the treafures, lands, and government of Peru. There was in this claim an appearance of equity, which the author of the difcovery was not difpofed to admit. From that time jealoufy and hatred prevailed among them. There were two chiefs, two parties, and two armies; and foon after, by means of a forced accommodation, two governments.

FROM the collifion of thefe factions, neceffarily refulted difturbances of a new kind. Civil wars commonly originate from tyranny and anarchy. A power without limits, and a liberty without reftraint, muft produce the fame confequences. The

The magiſtrate looks upon the people only as ſo many rebels to his authority, and the people in their turns only regard him as an uſurper. Reaſon is not ſufficiently powerful to regulate claims ſo repugnant to each other. The deciſion of rights is referred to the ſword, and he who is victorious is found to have the beſt cauſe.

THOUGH the intereſts, which divided the Spaniards in Peru, were not of ſuch importance, yet they were attended with the ſame, if not greater exceſſes. Almagro and his adherents, had paſſed the ſea for no other purpoſe than to enrich themſelves with the gold of the country. They had acquired leſs than their opponents, and therefore wanted to wreſt it from them by the ſword. Whether Pizarro thought his preſence neceſſary elſewhere, or whether, as he himſelf ſaid, he felt a reluctance to fight againſt his old friend, he committed to his brother Fernando the charge of conquering him; and his hopes were not diſappointed. Almagro was beaten, and made priſoner, on the banks of the Apurimac, on the 6th of April 1538. The conqueror, who had private revenge to gratify, judged, that the author of theſe diſturbances ought not live. This great ſacrifice he offered up, for the ſake, as he ſaid, of the publick tranquillity.

THE partiſans of Almagro, being diſperſed by the death of their chief, conducted themſelves with great prudence and circumſpection. The abſence of Fernando, who was gone to Europe, either to ſolicit a reward, or to juſtify his ſeverity according to the diſpoſitions he ſhould find predominant

dominant at the court of Madrid, appeared to have extinguished in their bosom all resentment. They seemed to study nothing but how to obtain the good-will of the person who had it in his power to dispense favours to all. By means of the confidence which they had the happiness to inspire, they lived without molestation, insensibly drew nearer to each other, and found a chief to head their united forces in the son of a man, whose loss they had never ceased to deplore. The death of Francis Pizarro was solemnly and unanimously decreed among them.

On the day fixed, which was in the month of June 1541, the conspirators at mid-day crossed the streets of Lima. They had preferred the light of day to the obscurity of the night, in order by that means to prepossess the multitude in favour of the justice of their projects, or the justness of their measures, and to prevent even an idea of an attempt to frustrate them. Their stratagem succeeded, no one gave the alarm; and the conqueror of so many vast kingdoms was quietly massacred in the center of a town that he had founded, and whose inhabitants were composed of his creatures, his servants, his relations, his friends, or his soldiers. Those whom they judged most likely to revenge his death, were murdered after him: their fury spread itself, and every one who dared to shew himself in the streets and in the squares, was regarded as an enemy, and put to the sword. Instantly the houses and temples were filled with slaughter, and presented nothing but mangled carcases. The spirit

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of avarice which induced them to consider the rich merely as partisans of the old government, was still more furious than that of hatred, and became more active, more suspicious, and more implacable. The representation of a place carried by assault by a barbarous nation, would communicate but an imperfect idea of that spectacle of horror which these ruffians now exhibited, who wrested from their accomplices the booty of which they had disappointed them.

THIS cruel massacre was followed by enormities of another kind. The soul of young Almagro seems to have been formed for tyranny. Every one who had been in employment under the adversary of his family was inhumanly proscribed. The antient magistrates were deposed. The troops were put under the command of new officers. The royal treasury, and the wealth of those who perished or were absent, were seized upon by the usurper. His accomplices, attached to his fortune by being partakers of his crimes, were forced to give their support to undertakings which filled them with horror. Those among them who suffered their uneasiness at these proceedings to transpire, were either put to death in private, or perished on a scaffold. During the confusion, in which a revolution so unexpected had plunged Peru, several provinces submitted to this monster, who caused himself to be proclaimed governor in the capital: and he marched into the heart of the empire to complete the reduction of every place that opposed, or hesitated to acknowledge him.

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A MULTITUDE of ruffians joined him on his march. His army breathed nothing but vengeance and plunder: every thing gave way before it. If the military talents of the general had equalled the ardour of his troops, the war had ended here. Unhappily for Almagro, he had loſt his conductor, John de Herrada. His inexperience made him fall into the ſnares that were laid for him by Pedro Alvares, who had put himſelf at the head of the oppoſite party. He loſt in attempting to unravel his plots, that time that he ought to have employed in fighting. In theſe circumſtances, an event which no one could have foreſeen, happened to change the face of affairs.

THE licentiate Vaca di Caſtro, who had been ſent from Europe to try the murderers of old Almagro, arrived at Peru. As he was appointed to aſſume the government in caſe Pizarro was no more, all who had not ſold themſelves to the tyrant haſtened to acknowledge him. Uncertainty and jealouſy, which had for too long a time kept them diſperſed, were no longer an obſtacle to their re-union. Caſtro, who was as reſolute as if he had grown old in the ſervice, did not ſuffer their impatience to languiſh, but inſtantly led them againſt the enemy. The two armies engaged at Chapas on the 16th of September 1542, and fought with inexpreſſible obſtinacy. Victory, after having wavered a long time, at the cloſe of the day decided in favour of that party whoſe cauſe was the moſt juſt. Thoſe among the rebels who were moſt guilty, dreading to languiſh under diſgraceful tortures, provoked the con-

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querors to murder them, crying out like men in despair, *It was I who killed Pizarro.* Their chief was taken prisoner, and died on the scaffold.

WHILE these scenes of horror were transacting in America, the Spaniards in Europe were employed in finding out expedients to terminate them; though no measures had been taken to prevent them. Peru had only been made subject to the audience of Panama, which was too remote to superintend the maintenance of good order, and had too little influence to make its decrees respected. A supreme tribunal was then established at Lima for the dispensation of justice, which was to be invested with authority sufficient to enforce and to reward a due obedience to the laws. Blasco Nunez Vela, who presided in it as viceroy, arrived in 1544, attended by his subordinates in office, and found every thing in the most dreadful disorder.

WE must judge of those revolutions which are produced by civil wars, by the causes from which they spring. When an abhorrence of tyranny and the natural love of liberty stimulate a brave people to take up arms, if the goodness of their cause is crowned with success, the tranquillity that follows this transitory calamity is an æra of the greatest happiness. The vigour, which hath been excited in the soul of every individual, manifests itself in his manners. The small number of citizens who have been witnesses and instruments of such troubles, possess more moral strength than the most populous nations. Justice and power are united: and every man is astonished to find that he

he occupies that very place which nature had marked out for him. But when civil wars proceed from a corrupt ſource; when ſlaves fight about the choice of a tyrant; when the ambitious contend in order to oppreſs, and robbers quarrel for the ſake of ſpoil; the peace which terminates theſe horrors, is ſcarcely preferable to the war which gave them birth. Criminals aſſume the place of thoſe judges who diſgraced them, and become the oracles of thoſe laws which they have inſulted. Men ruined by their extravagancies and debaucheries inſult, with an overbearing pomp, thoſe virtuous citizens whoſe patrimony they have invaded. In this ſtate of utter confuſion, the paſſions only are attended to. Avarice ſeeks to grow rich without any trouble, vengeance to gratify its reſentments without fear, licentiouſneſs to throw off every reſtraint, and diſcontent to occaſion a total ſubverſion of affairs. The phrenzy of carnage is ſucceeded by that of debauchery. The ſacred bed of innocence or of marriage is polluted with blood, adultery and brutal violence. The fury of the multitude rejoices in deſtroying every thing it cannot enjoy; and thus in a few hours periſh the monuments of many centuries.

If fatigue, an entire laſſitude, or ſome lucky accidents ſuſpend theſe calamities, the habit of wickedneſs, murder, and contempt of laws, which neceſſarily ſubſiſts after ſo much confuſion, is a leaven ever ready to ferment. Generals who no longer have any command, licentious ſoldiers without pay, and the people fond of novelty in

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hopes of changing their ſtate for a better; this ſituation of things, and theſe means of confuſion, are always in readineſs for the firſt factious perſon who knows how to avail himſelf of them.

SUCH was the diſpoſition of the Spaniards in Peru, when Nunez appeared among them. It was neceſſary that a change ſhould take place, that their ferocity ſhould be ſoftened, that the men who had always lived in independence ſhould be curbed, that inſatiable avarice ſhould be checked, that injuſtice itſelf ſhould be brought back to principles of equity, that thoſe who had attended to nothing but their own private intereſts ſhould be brought to concur to the public good, that adventurers who had even forgotten the name of their country ſhould be converted into citizens, that property ſhould be eſtabliſhed where before the law of force had only been obeyed, that order ſhould ariſe from the midſt of confuſion; in a word, that monſters ſhould be transformed into men.

So great a work would have required a profound genius, a conciliatory temper, an inflexible patience, extenſive views, a pliant character, and many other qualities which are ſeldom united. Nunez had none of theſe advantages. Nature had only given him probity, firmneſs, and ardour; and he had taken no pains to improve theſe gifts. With theſe virtues, which were almoſt defects in his ſituation, he began to fulfil his commiſſion, without regard to places, perſons, or circumſtances.

CONTRARY

CONTRARY to the opinion of all intelligent perſons, who wiſhed that he ſhould wait for freſh inſtructions from Europe, he publiſhed ordinances which declared that the lands the conquerors had ſeized ſhould not paſs to their deſcendents, and which diſpoſſeſſed thoſe who had taken part in the civil commotions. All the Peruvians, who had been enſlaved by monks, biſhops, and perſons belonging to the government, were declared free. Thoſe who belonged to other maſters, were to be freed from their ſhackles at the death of their oppreſſors. They could no longer be compelled to bury themſelves in the mines, nor could any kind of labour be exacted from them without payment. Their tribute was fixed. The Spaniards who travelled on foot, were deprived of the right of taking three Indians to carry their baggage, and thoſe who travelled on horſeback, of the right of taking five. The caciques were diſcharged from the obligation of furniſhing the traveller and his retinue with proviſions gratis. Other tyrannical eſtabliſhments alſo would ſoon have been proſcribed, and the conquered people were on the eve of being ſheltered under the protection of laws, which would at leaſt have tempered the rigours of the right of conqueſt, if even they had not entirely repaired the injuſtice of them; but it ſhould ſeem that the Spaniſh government was only to be unfortunate in the good it attempted to effect.

A CHANGE ſo unexpected filled thoſe with conſternation who ſaw their fortunes wreſted from them, or who loſt the flattering hope of tranſmitting

ting theirs to their posterity. Even those who were not affected by these interested views, being accustomed to look upon the Indians as the instruments and victims of their avarice, had no conception that any other ideas could prevail concerning them. From astonishment they proceeded to indignation, murmuring, and sedition. The viceroy was degraded, put in irons, and banished to a desert island, till he could be conveyed to Spain.

GONZALES PIZARRO was then returned from a hazardous expedition, which had carried him as far as the river of the Amazons, and had employed him long enough to prevent him from taking a part in those revolutions which had so rapidly succeeded each other. The anarchy he found prevailing at his return, inspired him with the idea of seizing the supreme authority. His fame and his forces made it impossible that this should be refused him; but his usurpation was marked with so many enormities, that Nunez was regretted. He was recalled from exile, and soon collected a sufficient number of forces to enable him to take the field. Civil commotions were then renewed with extreme fury by both parties. No quarter was asked or given on either side. The Indians took part in this, as they had done in the preceding wars; some ranged themselves under the standard of the viceroy, others under the banners of Gonzales. From fifteen to twenty thousand of these unhappy wretches who were scattered about in each army, dragged up the artillery, levelled the roads, carried the baggage, and

and deftroyed one another. Their conquerors had taught them to be fanguinary. After a variety of advantages for a long time alternately obtained, fortune at length favoured the rebellion under the walls of Quito in the month of January, in the year 1545. Nunez and the greateft part of his men were maffacred on this dreadful day.

PIZARRO took the road of Lima, where they were deliberating on the ceremonies with which they fhould receive him. Some officers wifhed that a canopy fhould be carried for him to march under, after the manner of kings. Others, with adulation ftill more extravagant, pretended that part of the walls of the town, and even fome houfes muft be pulled down, as was the cuftom at Rome, when a general obtained the honours of a triumph. Gonzales contented himfelf with making his entrance on horfeback, preceded by his lieutenant, who marched on foot. Four bifhops accompanied him, and he was followed by the magiftrates. The ftreets were ftrewn with flowers, and the air refounded with the noife of bells and various mufical inftruments. This homage totally turned the head of a man naturally haughty, and of confined ideas. He fpoke and acted in the moft defpotic manner.

HAD Gonzales poffeffed judgment and the appearance of moderation, it would have been poffible for him to render himfelf independent. The principal perfons of his party wifhed it. The majority would have beheld this event with indifference, and the reft would have been obliged to

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consent to it. Blind cruelties, insatiable avarice, and unbounded pride, altered these dispositions. Even those, whose interests were more connected with those of the tyrant, wished for a deliverer.

SUCH a deliverer arrived from Europe in the person of the licentiate Pedro de la Gasca. The squadron and the provinces of the mountains immediately declared for a person who was invested with a lawful authority to govern them. Those who lived concealed in deserts, caverns, and forests, quitted their retreats to join him. Gonzales, who saw no resource left to support him but in some great atchievement, took the road of Cusco, with a resolution to give battle. At some leagues distance from this place he met the royal army, and attacked it on the 9th of June 1548. One of his lieutenants seeing him abandoned at the first charge by his best soldiers, advised him to throw himself into the enemy's battalions, and perish like a Roman: but this weak man chose rather to surrender, and end his life on a scaffold. Carvajal, a more able warrior, and more ferocious than himself, was quartered. This madman, when he was expiring, boasted that he had massacred with his own hand fourteen hundred Spaniards, and twenty thousand Indians.

SUCH was the last scene of a tragedy, of which every act has been marked with blood. The government was moderate enough not to continue the proscriptions; and the remembrance of the horrid calamities they had suffered, kept the Spaniards in the bounds of subjection. What still remained of that commotion that had been raised

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in their minds, infenfibly fank into a calm, like the agitation of waves after a long and furious tempeft.

WITH regard to the Peruvians, the moft cruel meafures were taken to render it impoffible for them to rebel. Tupac Amaru, the heir of their laft king, had taken refuge in fome remote mountains, where he lived in peace. There he was fo clofely furrounded by the troops which had been fent out againft him, that he was forced to furrender. The viceroy Francis de Toledo caufed him to be accufed of feveral crimes that he had not committed, and for which he was beheaded in 1571. All the other defcendents of the Incas fhared the fame fate, under pretence that they had confpired againft their conquerors. The horror of thefe enormities excited fo univerfal an indignation both in the old and new world, that Philip II. thought himfelf obliged to difavow them; but the infamous policy of this prince was fo notorious, that no credit was given to this appearance of his juftice and humanity.

FROM this execrable period, there hath only been one trifling infurrection in Peru. An Indian, of the province of Xauxa, who declared himfelf of the blood of the Incas, was proclaimed king in 1742. His countrymen, who flattered themfelves that they fhould foon recover their religion, their laws, their lands, and their glory, flocked in crowds to his ftandard: but they were beaten and difperfed, after having made a confiderable progrefs. The prifoners declared that this confpiracy had been brooding for thirty years. A fingular

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BOOK VII.

gular example in hiſtory, and which may be regarded as the moſt authentic proof of the hatred of the Peruvians againſt the Spaniards.

Natural ſtate of Peru.

THE empire of Peru, at the time it was ſubdued, extended along the South Sea, from the river of Emeralds to Chili, and on the land ſide to Popayan, according to ſome geopraphers. It contained within its extent that famous chain of mountains which riſes in the Terra Magellanica, and is gradually loſt in Mexico, in order to unite, as it ſhould ſeem, the ſouthern parts of America with the northern. Its territory, which is very irregular, may be divided into three claſſes.

THE principal Cordeleras form the firſt: the ſummits of theſe, ſays M. de la Condamine, are loſt in the clouds, and almoſt all of them are covered with enormous maſſes of ſnow as old as the world. From ſeveral of theſe ſummits, which have in part tumbled down, and from theſe immenſe heaps of ſnow, torrents of ſmoak and flame iſſue. Such are the ſummits of Colopaxi, Tongourargua, and Sangai. The greateſt part of the reſt have formerly been volcanos, or will, probably, one day become ſuch. Hiſtory has only preſerved to us the æra of their eruptions ſince the diſcovery of America; but the pumice ſtones, the calcined earths with which they are ſtrewn, and the evident veſtiges that the flame hath left, are authentic teſtimonies of the reality of former eruptions: their height is prodigious.

CAYAMBOUR, which is ſituated directly under the equator, and Antiſona, which is only five leagues

leagues diſtant from it to the ſouth, are more than three thouſand toiſes high, reckoning from the level of the ſea; and Chimboraco, which is near 3220 toiſes high, ſurpaſſes by one third the altitude of the Peak of Teneriffe, the higheſt mountain of the old hemiſphere. Pitchincha and Caraçon, where the French Academicians made moſt of their obſervations with regard to the figure of the earth, have only 2430 and 2470 toiſes of abſolute height; and this is the higheſt mountain that was ever aſcended. Eternal ſnows have hitherto rendered ſummits of greater altitude inacceſſible.

FROM this boundary, which is where the ſnow never melts, not even in the torrid zone, one hardly ſees, in deſcending an hundred or an hundred and fifty toiſes down, any thing except naked rocks or dry ſands: a little lower, one may perceive ſome moſs that covers the rocks, various kinds of heath, which though green and damp, make a clear fire; round hillocks of ſpungy earth, on which grow ſmall radiated and ſtarry plants, whoſe petals are like the leaves of yew. Throughout the whole of this ſpace, the ſnow is only temporary, but it continues ſometimes whole weeks and months. Lower ſtill, the ground is commonly covered with a ſort of looſe graſs, which riſes a foot and a half high, or two feet. This ſpecies of hay is the proper characteriſtic that diſtinguiſhes the mountains which the Spaniards call *Paramos*. They only give this name to heath, or ſuch uncultivated ground that is too high for wood to grow on it, or where the rain ſeldom falls

falls otherwise than in the form of snow, though it immediately melts. And lastly, in descending still lower, to the height of about two thousand toises above the level of the sea, one sees it sometimes snow and sometimes rain.

When we come down from these mountains, we find others that are less considerable, which occupy the middle of Peru. The summit of these is commonly cold, barren, and full of mines. The vallies between them are covered with numerous flocks, and seem to offer to agriculture the most copious harvests. There are seldom above two months of winter here; and in the greatest heat, we need only pass out of the sun into the shade to enjoy the temperate zone. This rapid alternative of sensation is not, however, invariable in a climate, which by the disposition alone of the ground often changes in the course of a league. But let it be as it will, it is always found healthy. There is no malady peculiar to these countries, and those of our climate seldom prevail there. An European vessel, however, in 1719 brought thither an epidemic disorder, which carried off a great number of Spaniards and Mestees, and above two hundred thousand Indians. A more fatal present still which these people have received in exchange for their gold, is the small-pox. It shewed itself here for the first time in 1588, and has not failed since to make at intervals inexpressible ravages.

The people are not less exposed to this fatal distemper on the coasts known by the name of valleys. Their temperature is not the same as

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is elſewhere found in the ſame latitude. It is very agreeable; and though the four ſeaſons of the year are ſenſibly felt here, there is none that can with propriety be deemed inconvenient. The winter is the moſt ſtrongly marked. This has been accounted for by the winds of the ſouth pole, which bring along with them the impreſſion of thoſe ſnows and that ice, from which they firſt came: but this they preſerve only in part, becauſe they blow while a thick fog lies upon the earth. In reality, theſe groſs vapours never regularly riſe but towards noon, but it is ſeldom that they diſperſe. The ſky commonly continues ſo much covered with them, that the rays of the ſun, which ſometimes appear, cannot but in a very ſlight manner mitigate the cold.

WHATEVER may be the cauſe of ſo regular a winter under the torrid zone, it is certain that theſe valleys, which are covered with heaps of ſand, are abſolutely barren for a ſpace of more than an hundred leagues, from Truxillo to Lima. The reſt of the coaſt is leſs ſandy, but it is ſtill too much ſo to be fruitful. No fields are there found that can be ſtyled fertile, except in ſuch lands as are watered by the ſtreams which deſcend from the mountains.

RAIN might contribute to impart to the ſoil the fertility of which it is deſtitute, but it is never known to rain in lower Peru. Natural philoſophy has exerted its efforts to diſcover the cauſe of a phænomenon ſo extraordinary. May it not be attributed to the ſouth-weſt wind which prevails there the greateſt part of the year, and to the prodigious

BOOK VII.

digious height of the mountains, whoſe ſummit is covered with eternal ice? The country ſituated between both, being continually cooled on one ſide and continually heated on the other, maintains ſo equal a temperature, that the clouds which riſe, can never be condenſed ſo far as to be reſolved into water. To this it is owing, that the houſes, though only built of crude brick or of earth mixed with a little graſs, are of eternal duration. Their covering is only a ſimple matting, placed horizontally with a layer of aſhes an inch deep above, to abſorb the moiſture of the fog.

THE ſame reaſons that prevent its raining in the valleys, undoubtedly alſo hinder ſtorms. Thoſe of their inhabitants who never travelled in the mountains, are perfect ſtrangers to thunder and lightning. Their terror is equal to their aſtoniſhment, when out of their country they firſt behold ſo uncommon a ſpectacle.

BUT they have a phænomenon much more dangerous and dreadful, and which in its conſequences leaves much deeper impreſſions in the human imagination than thunder and the ravages that accompany it. Earthquakes, which in other countries are ſo rare that whole generations paſs without beholding one, are ſo common in the valleys of Peru, that they have there contracted an habit of reckoning them as a ſeries of dates; and they are ſo much the more memorable, as their frequent return does not diminiſh their violence. There are few places on this extenſive coaſt, which preſent not moſt dreadful monuments of theſe horrible convulſions of the earth.

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THIS phænomenon, which is ever irregular in its ſudden returns, is however announced by very perceptible omens. When the ſhock is conſiderable, it is preceded by a murmur in the air, the noiſe of which is like that of heavy rain falling from a cloud that ſuddenly burſts and diſcharges its waters. This noiſe ſeems to be the effect of a vibration of the air which is agitated in different directions. The birds are then obſerved to dart in their flight. Neither their tails nor their wings ſerve them any longer as oars and helm to ſwim in the fluid of the ſkies. They daſh themſelves in pieces againſt the walls, the trees, and the rocks, whether it be that this vertigo of nature dazzles and confuſes them, or that the vapours of the earth take away their ſtrength and power to command their movements.

To this tumult in the air is added the rumbling of the earth, whoſe cavities and deep receſſes re-echo each others noiſes. The dogs anſwer theſe previous tokens of a general diſorder of nature by howling in an extraordinary manner. The animals ſtop, and by a natural inſtinct ſpread out their legs that they may not fall. Upon theſe indications, the inhabitants inſtantly run out of their houſes, with terror impreſſed on their countenances, and fly to ſearch in the encloſures of public places, or in the fields, an aſylum from the fall of their roofs. The cries of children, the lamentations of women, the ſudden darkneſs of an unexpected night; every thing combines to aggravate the too real evils of a dire calamity which ſubverts every thing, by the excruciating tortures of the imagination, which is

diftreffed and confounded, and lofes in the contemplation of this diforder, the thought and courage to remedy it.

A LAND, however, fo unfteady on its bafis, was inhabited. Amidft thefe horrors of nature, which might feem calculated to make tyrants and flaves equally ferocious and brutal, was formed a flourifhing empire. Its population cannot reafonably be called in queftion, when we behold felf-evident proofs that this happy people had covered with their colonies all the provinces that they had conquered; when we attend to the aftonifhing number of men engaged in the fervice of government, and deriving their fubfiftence from the ftate. Such a number of perfons employed, neceffarily imply an immenfe population, in order to maintain with the productions of the earth a very numerous clafs of inhabitants, who are not themfelves concerned in cultivation.

BY what fatality, then, hath it happened that Peru is now fuch a defert? By tracing things to their origin, we find that thofe who conquered the coafts of the South Sea, being ruffians, without birth, education, and principle, originally committed greater enormities than the conquerors of New Spain. The mother country was a longer time before fhe checked their ferocity, which was continually fomented by thofe long and cruel civil wars, that fucceeded the conqueft. A fyftem of oppreffion was afterwards eftablifhed, the progrefs of which it is proper to examine, with whatever horror it may infpire us.

THE

To what condition the Spaniards have reduced the Peruvians.

THE Peruvians were at firſt deprived of their poſſeſſions, as the Mexicans had been. Only a part of thoſe lands, which, in the times of the Incas, had been conſecrated to public occaſions, was left to them in common. This portion hath been gradually diminiſhed by the uſurpations of powerful people, and eſpecially by the monks. The produce of the lands that remain for the maintenance of the infirm, the aged, the widows, and orphans, is not more reſpected; the greateſt part of it is collected in the granaries of their oppreſſors.

THE liberty of the Indians underwent the ſame fate as their property. Thoſe who were the ſlaves of government, and were employed in the labours indiſpenſably neceſſary for new eſtabliſhments, were ill fed and ill cloathed. When there was no longer any occupation for them, they were transferred to private perſons, whoſe fiefs ſtood in need of hands to cultivate them. In truth, theſe new maſters were obliged to retain them in their ſervice only ſix months, after which they might return to their cottages; but avarice ſoon found means to render a tranſient ſervitude perpetual. The wages regulated for theſe unhappy wretches, were inſufficient, They were tempted by advance money, which their neceſſity led them to accept. From that time the greateſt part of them found themſelves engaged for life; becauſe they had no right of going away 'till they had paid the debts which they contracted, which their poverty rendered it impoſſible for them ever to do. Tyranny was carried to great lengths againſt this ſpecies of inſolvent debtors, who had

a family; for they put them in prifon. In order to obtain their enlargement, their wives and their children were fecurity for them, and thefe became as many new flaves. Thus it was that the yoke of flavery was perpetuated. The fole confideration that could have ferved as a check to this barbarity was, that while the Spaniards had thefe Indians, they could not have other flaves; but it was always of fingular utility to keep men whom they had formed for every purpofe they wanted them; efpecially manufacturers, whom it would always be difficult, often impoffible to replace.

WHILE moft of the Peruvians belonging to the crown fell in this manner into a ftate of fervitude, thofe who had been reduced into fubjection at the time of the conqueft were ftill more wretched. Though the mafter of the diftrict where they dwelt had no right to exact of them any thing except a tribute, which he fhared with the treafury, he appropriated to himfelf all their labour. Oppreffion was carried to fuch lengths, that it rouzed the attention of the government. It hath gradually fuppreffed all this defpotifm of individuals, and there was nothing of it remaining in 1750. The Indians, however, who feemed to be reftored to liberty by this new arrangement, have only changed the yoke. They have been deftined to fill up the vacancy of the *Mitayos* or royal Indians, who perifhed in the fervice of thofe to whom they were configned, and their condition is as wretched as it was before.

INDEPENDENT of this methodical and legal oppreffion which is exercifed upon the whole nation, there

there are a number of particular cruelties at which humanity no leſs recoils. It is expreſly prohibited by law, that the Peruvians ſhould be obliged to work in the ſubterraneous mines, and yet there is no miner, who by his influence or by his profuſion cannot compel them to it. Theſe unhappy beings are condemned to pay 26 livres 5 ſous * of a poll tax from eighteen years of age to fifty, throughout the greateſt part of Peru: the farmers exact this enormous tribute beyond the term ſettled, and even exact it twice a year, when the acquittances have been miſlayed. Every proprietor of land who hath killed an Indian by overworking him, or letting him want neceſſaries, is obliged to loſe another ſlave out of the number he is allowed to keep; and there are not, perhaps, two inſtances even of this ſlight puniſhment for a crime which is repeated every day. The law obliges all the inhabitants of a village to be enrolled, in order to fulfill in their turn the obligation impoſed on the community; this deſtination is never fulfilled, unleſs by thoſe who are incapable of redeeming themſelves from the oppreſſion. When a Spaniard hath ceded a portion of land to a Peruvian in order to fix him on his eſtate, he has no right to deprive him of it 'till the clauſes of the contract have been declared by law to be violated: the perſons in power deſpiſe theſe forms, and reſume their poſſeſſions whenever their intereſts or caprices prompt them to it. Travellers who are obliged to take nothing but by mutual conſent, boldly ſeize every

* About 1l. 3s.

BOOK VII.

thing that they find in the huts. This continual pillage prevents the Indians from having any thing, even common neceſſaries. They ſow no maize, but what is abſolutely neceſſary for them, and they conceal it in ſecret caverns. The heads of a family poſſeſs alone the ſecret of this depoſit, and go every eight days there to fetch proviſions for the week. In fine, the corregidors have for the moſt part appropriated to themſelves the excluſive right of ſelling to the Indians of their diſtrict the merchandiſe of Europe, and they either make them pay an exorbitant price for it, or oblige them to purchaſe what they do not want.

If the court of Madrid pretends that it has prevented theſe flagrant enormities by giving the Peruvians a Spaniſh protector, who is obliged to defend them, and a cacique of the country who is charged with the management of their affairs, it is deceived. The protector annually receives from each of them 13 ſous *; and the cacique ſix ſous and a half †, in his particular juriſdiction: and this is the only reformation that has been made. The protector ſells the Indians to any that will purchaſe them, and the cacique is too much debaſed to be able to oppoſe this oppreſſion.

Religion has not more power than the laws; it has ſtill leſs. The clergy are the greateſt enemies the Peruvians have. They make them work without paying them; and beat them unmercifully for the moſt trifling cauſes. When any of theſe unhappy wretches hath not obſerved his inſtruc-

* About 7 pence.

† About 3 pence half-penny.

tions,

tions, he is directly punifhed; and blows are the paternal correction which thefe paftors inflict. No one prefumes to approach them without fome prefent. They have permitted their parifhioners to continue fuch of their ancient fuperftitions as are ufeful to the church, as, for inftance, the cuftom of carrying a great deal of provifions to the tombs of the dead. The clergy fix an arbitrary price upon their functions, and they have always fome pious inventions which give them occafion to exact new duties. The collections of the monks are real military executions. They are a fpecies of plunder committed by authority, and almoft always accompanied with violence. This conduct could not fail to render chriftianity odious to the Indians. Thefe people go to church as they do to the labours impofed upon them, execrating thofe foreign barbarians who overwhelm both their bodies and their fouls with intolerable yokes and burdens.

THEY have in general preferved the religion of their anceftors; and even in the great towns, where they are under the eyes of their tyrants, they have folemn days on which they affume their antient drefs, and carry along the ftreets the images of the fun and moon. Some among them reprefent a tragedy, the fubject of which is the death of Atabalipa. The audience, who begin with fhedding tears, are afterwards tranfported into a kind of madnefs. It feldom happens in thefe feftivals, but that fome Spaniard is flain. One day, perhaps, this tragedy will end in the maffacre of the whole race of the murderers of Atabalipa; and the priefts who facrificed him will, in their

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turn become victims for all the blood which they caused to be shed on the altar of a God of peace.

The Peruvians are moreover an instance of that profound stupidity, into which it is in the power of tyranny to plunge men. They are fallen into a listless and universal indifference. Can it be possible that these people should have any kind of attachment, whose religion once elevated the soul, and from whom the most abject slavery has taken away every sentiment of greatness and glory? The riches, which their country hath offered them, do not tempt them; luxury, to which nature invites them, has no attraction for them. They are even insensible to honours. They are whatever one pleases, without any ill humour, or choice, caciques or *matayos*, the objects of distinction or of public derision. They have lost all their passions. That of fear itself has often no effect on them, through the little attachment they have to life. They intoxicate themselves, and dance; these are all the pleasures they have, when they are able to forget their misery. Indolence is their predominant habit. *I am not hungry*, they say to the person who would pay them for their labour.

Such is the condition of almost all nations that have no property. In hot countries, where one may live at a small expence, where the earth gives much, and requires little, every man, who can but subsist without ever being in possession of any property, passes his life in ease and beggary; and neither labours for the morrow, nor for posterity. The universal fault of bad governments, and they are

are almoſt all ſo, is in the legiſlative code with regard to the article of property. It ſhould either be ſaid that none ought to be admitted, or the moſt exact equilibrium that is poſſible ought to be maintained in this ſocial balance. But of all legiſlations, the moſt deſtructive and the leaſt permament is that of a nation compoſed of rich and indolent proprietors, and ſlaves that are poor and overburdened. It ſoon becomes only one general ſyſtem of idleneſs: cruelties, gibbets, and tortures on one ſide; hatred, poiſon, and inſurrection on the other; the ruin and deſtruction of both; the perdition and diſſolution of ſociety.

THE empire of Peru was reduced to ſuch a ſtate of depopulation as rendered it neceſſary that it ſhould be ſupplied by the purchaſe of a foreign race; but this mode of raiſing ſupplies, which was dictated by the refinement of European barbarity, was more prejudicial to Africa than uſeful to the country of the Incas. The Spaniards do not derive from it all the advantages with which they had flattered themſelves. The government hath thought proper to throw obſtacles in its way by monopolies and taxes, which it ever impoſes on vices as well as on virtues, on induſtry and idleneſs, on good and bad projects, on the right of exerciſing oppreſſions, and the permiſſion of being exempted from them, on the power of putting the laws in execution, and the privilege of infringing or eluding them. Independent of theſe exceſſive duties laid on the introduction of negroes into Peru, it was neceſſary to receive them from an excluſive charter, and from foreign hands to import

BOOK VII.

port them acroſs immenſe ſeas and unwholeſome climates, and to undergo the expence of ſeveral embarkations. Neceſſity, ſtronger than theſe obſtacles, has however multiplied this ſpecies of men more at Peru than at Mexico. There is alſo a much greater number of Spaniards there, for the following reaſons.

To what degree the Spaniards have multiplied in Peru. Where, and how, they have formed their ſettlements. What ſpecies of cultivation, and what induſtry they have introduced into the empire.

At the time when the firſt conqueſts were made, when emigrations were moſt frequent, the country of the Incas had a much greater reputation for riches than New Spain, and in reality for a long time much more conſiderable treaſures were brought away from it. The deſire of partaking of them muſt neceſſarily draw thither, as was really the caſe, a greater number of Caſtilians. Though they all almoſt went over there, with the hope of returning to their country to enjoy the fortune they might acquire, yet the majority of them ſettled in the colony. They were induced to this by the ſoftneſs of the climate, the ſalubrity of the air, and the goodneſs of the proviſions. Mexico preſented not the ſame advantages, and did not give them reaſon to expect ſo much independence as a land infinitely more remote from the mother-country.

Cusco attracted the conquerors in multitudes. They found this capital built on a ground that was very irregular, and divided into as many quarters as there were provinces in the empire. Each of the inhabitants might follow the uſages of his native country; but every body was obliged to conform to the worſhip eſtabliſhed by the founder of the monarchy. There was no edifice that had any

any grandeur, elegance, or convenience; because the people were ignorant of the first elements of architecture. The magnificence of what they called the palace of the sovereign, of the princes of the blood, and of the great men of his empire, consisted in the profusion of the metals that were lavished in decorating them. The temple of the sun was distinguished above all other edifices; its walls were incrusted or sheathed with gold and silver, ornamented with divers figures, and loaded with the idols of all the nations whom the Incas had enlightened and subdued.

Profligate and idle monks have prostituted these rich metals to other superstitions; substituted to the useful prejudices of the climate others of a more destructive kind, and expelled the natural errors suited to the turn of the inhabitants, by foreign tenets, highly absurd in themselves, as well as repugnant to the human mind and to every social tie. The same fatality which subverts the universe, the ocean, the land, empires and nations; which alternately diffuses on the globe the enlightening spirit of the arts, and the darkness of ignorance; which transplants men and opinions, as the winds and currents drive fish and sea-weeds on the shore: this same destiny has decreed that a set of proud monks, enervated at once by indolence and voluptuousness, should insolently indulge themselves in ease upon the ashes of the virtuous Incas, in the center of an empire formerly so blessed under these legislators. This deplorable revolution does not hinder the Peruvians,

Peruvians, who in general have the greateſt averſion for living in cities, becauſe inhabited by Spaniards, from voluntarily chuſing to reſide at Cuſco. They ſtill love to behold that venerable place, from which thoſe holy laws originated that rendered their anceſtors ſo happy. The remembrance of this inſpires them with an elevation of ſoul; and they are found to be leſs ſtupid on this celebrated ſpot, than in other parts of their empire.

On a hill north of the capital was a citadel, which the Incas had built with much care, time, labour, and expence. The Spaniards long ſpoke of this monument of Peruvian induſtry with a ſpirit of admiration that impoſed upon all Europe. We have ſeen the ruins of this fortreſs, and the marvellous has diſappeared: nothing has remained but the aſtoniſhment, which muſt neceſſarily be occaſioned by the ſight of the enormous maſſes of ſtone, which have been brought from a conſiderable diſtance, without the aſſiſtance of levers and other machines that are known to more enlightened nations.

Four leagues from this fortreſs we meet with a delicious valley, where the Incas and the great men of the empire had their country-houſes. This enchanting retreat ſo well preſerves its reputation, that the richeſt inhabitants of Cuſco believe, there is ſomething deficient in their ſyſtem of happineſs when they cannot purchaſe a piece of ground there. The ſick ordinarily repair thither in ſearch of health, and it rarely happens but they find it.

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As it was not a ſolicitude for their own preſervation which occupied the Spaniards at firſt, they had no ſooner pillaged the immenſe riches which had been amaſſed at Cuſco for four centuries, than they went in great numbers in 1534, under the order of Sebaſtian de Benalcazar, to undertake the deſtruction of Quito. The other towns and boroughs of the empire were overrun with the ſame ſpirit of rapine; and the citizens and the temples were plundered in all parts.

Those of the conquerors who did not take up their reſidence in the ſettlements which they found already formed, built towns on the ſea-coaſts, where before there were none; for the ſterility of the ſoil had not permitted the Peruvians to multiply much there; and they had not been induced to remove thither from the extremity of their country, becauſe they ſailed very little. Paita, Truxillo, Callao, Piſca, and Arica were the roads, which the Spaniards deemed moſt convenient for the communication they intended to eſtabliſh among themſelves and with the mother country. The different poſitions of theſe new cities determined the degree of their proſperity.

Those which were afterwards built in the inland parts of the country were not erected in regions which preſented a fertile ſoil, copious harveſts, excellent paſtures, a mild and ſalubrious climate, and all the conveniences of life. Theſe places, which had hitherto been ſo well cultivated by a numerous and flouriſhing people, were now totally diſregarded. Very ſoon they exhibited only

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a deplorable picture of a horrid desert; and this wildness must have been more melancholy and hideous than the dreary aspect of the earth before the origin of societies. The traveller, who was led by accident or curiosity into these desolate plains, could not forbear abhorring the barbarous and bloody authors of these devastations, while he reflected that it was not owing even to the cruel illusions of glory and to the fanaticism of conquest, but to the stupid and abject desire of gold, that they had sacrificed so much more real treasure, and so numerous a population.

This insatiable thirst of gold, which neither attended to subsistence, safety, nor policy, was the only motive for establishing new settlements, some of which have been kept up, while several have decayed, and others have been formed in their stead. The fate of them all has corresponded with the discovery, progress, or declension of the mines to which they were subordinate.

Fewer errors have been committed in the means of procuring provisions. The natives had hitherto lived hardly on any thing else but maize, fruits, and pulse, for which they had used no other seasoning except salt and pimento. Their liquors, which were made from different roots, were more diversified; of these the *chica* was the most usual; which is made from maize soaked in water, and taken out of the vessel when it begins to sprout. It is dried in the sun, then parched a little, and at last ground. The flour, after

after it has been well kneaded, is put with water into large pitchers. The fermentation may be expected in two or three days, and muſt not continue longer. The great inconvenience of this drink, which, when uſed immoderately, infallibly intoxicates, is, that it will not keep more than eight days without turning ſour. Its taſte is nearly that of the moſt indifferent kind of cyder. It is a refreſhing, nouriſhing, and aperitive liquor. The Indians, who are never troubled with ſuppreſſions of urine, are ſaid to owe that advantage to the uſe of this drink.

THE conquerors were not ſatisfied either with the liquors or with the food of the people they had ſubdued. They imported vines from the old world, which ſoon multiplied ſufficiently in the ſands of the coaſts at Ica, Piſca, Naſca, Moquequa, and Truxillo, to furniſh the colony with the wine and brandy it wanted. Olives ſucceeded ſtill better, and yielded a great abundance of oil, which was much ſuperior to that of the mother-country. Other fruits were tranſplanted with the ſame ſucceſs. Sugar ſucceeds ſo well that none of any other growth can be compared to that which is cultivated in theſe parts where it never rains. In the inland country wheat and barley were ſown; and at length all the European quadrupeds were ſoon found grazing at the foot of the mountains.

THIS was a conſiderable ſtep, but there ſtill remained much more to be done. After they had provided for a better and a greater choice of ſubſiſtence, the next care of the Spaniards was to have a dreſs more commodious and more agreeable than

than that of the Peruvians. These were, however, better clothed than any other American nation. They owed this superiority to the advantage which they alone possessed of having the lama and the pacos, domestic animals which served them for this use.

The lama is an animal four feet high, and five or six in length; of which its neck alone takes up one half. Its head is well made, with large eyes, a long snout, and thick lips. Its mouth has no incisors in the upper jaw. Its feet are cloven like those of the ox, but furnished with a spur behind, which enables it to fasten itself on the sides of steep places, where it delights to climb. Its wool, which is short on its back, but grows long on its sides and under the belly, constitutes part of its usefulness. Though very salacious, these animals copulate with great difficulty. In vain the female prostrates herself to receive the male, and invites him by her sighs; they are sometimes a whole day groaning, grumbling, and ineffectually attempting enjoyment, if men do not help them to fulfil the desire of nature. Thus several of our domestic animals, that are chained, broken, forced, and restrained in all their freest motions and sensations, lose through ineffectual efforts the principles of generation while they are confined in stables, if care and attention does not supply the place of that liberty, of which they have been deprived. The females of the lama have only two dugs, never more than two young, commonly but one, which follows the dam immediately after its birth; it is of a very quick growth, and its life of short

duration.

duration. At three years old it propagates its ſpecies, preſerves its vigour till twelve, then decays till it reaches fifteen, being worn out by labour.

The lamas are employed as mules, in carrying on their backs loads of about an hundred weight. They move with a ſlow but firm pace at the rate of four or five leagues a day, in countries that are impracticable to other animals; deſcending through gullies and climbing up rocks, where men cannot follow them. After four or five days journey, they reſt of their own accord for twenty-four hours.

Nature has formed them for the people of that climate where they are produced, mild and phlegmatic, moderate and prudent, like the Americans. When they ſtop, they bend their knees and ſtoop their body in ſuch a manner as not to diſcompoſe their burthen. As ſoon as they hear their driver whiſtle, they riſe with the ſame care, and proceed on their journey. They browſe on the graſs they find in their way, and chew the cud at night, even when aſleep, reclining on their breaſt, with their feet doubled under their belly. They are neither diſpirited by faſting nor drudgery, while they have any ſtrength remaining; but when they are totally exhauſted or fall under their burden, it is to no purpoſe to harraſs and beat them: they will continue obſtinately ſtriking their heads againſt the ground, firſt on one ſide, then on the other, till they kill themſelves. They never defend themſelves either with their feet or teeth; and in the height of their indignation content

themſelves with only ſpitting in the face of thoſe who inſult them.

THE pacos is to the lama what the aſs is to the horſe, a ſubordinate ſpecies, ſmaller in ſize, with ſhorter legs, and a flat ſnout; but of the ſame diſpoſition, the ſame manners and the ſame conſtitution as the lama; made like the lama, to carry burthens, but more obſtinate in its caprices, perhaps, becauſe it is weaker.

THESE animals are ſo much the more uſeful to man, as their ſervice coſts him nothing. Their thick furr ſupplies the place of a pack ſaddle. The little graſs, which they find along the road, ſuffices for their food, and furniſhes them with a plentiful and freſh ſaliva, which exempts them from the neceſſity of drinking.

AMONG the lamas, there are ſome of a wild ſpecies called guanacos, which are ſtronger, more ſprightly, and more nimble than the domeſtic lamas; running like the ſtag and climbing like the wild goat, covered with ſhort wool, and of a fawn colour. Though free, they like to collect in herds to the number ſometimes of two or three hundred. If they ſee a man, they ſurvey him at firſt with an air of greater aſtoniſhment than curioſity; then ſnuffing up the air and neighing, they run all together to the ſummit of the mountains. Theſe animals ſeek the north, travel on the ice, and ſojourn within the regions of ſnow, dreading the heat of the low lands; they are vigorous, and appear in vaſt numbers on the Sierras, which are of the ſame height as the Cordeleras; ſmall in ſize, and difficult to be found in the heaths,

heaths, which are at the bottom of the mountains. When they are hunted for their fleece, if they gain the rocks, neither hunters nor dogs can ever catch them.

THE vicunas, a ſpecies of wild pacos, are ſtill fonder of the ſummits of mountains, the ſnow and the ice. Their wool is longer, thicker ſet, and much finer than that of the guanacos. Its colour reſembles that of dried roſes, and ſo fixed by nature, that it cannot be altered in the hands of thoſe who are employed in working it. The vicunas are ſo timid, that their fear itſelf makes them an eaſy prey to the hunter. Men ſurround them and drive them into narrow defiles, at the end of which they have ſuſpended pieces of cloth or linen on cords, that are raiſed three or four feet from the ground. Theſe rags being agitated by the wind, ſtrike ſuch terror into them, that they ſtand crowded and ſqueezed one againſt another, ſuffering themſelves to be killed rather than fly. But if there happens to be among the vicunas, a guanaco, which being more adventurous leaps over the cords, they follow it and eſcape.

ALL theſe animals belong ſo peculiarly to South America, and eſpecially to the higheſt Cordeleras, that they are never ſeen on the ſide of Mexico, where the height of theſe mountains is conſiderably diminiſhed. Attempts have been made to propagate the breed in Europe, but they have all died. The Spaniards, without reflecting, that theſe animals even in Peru itſelf ſought the coldeſt parts, tranſported them to the burning plains of Andaluſia. They might, poſſibly, have ſucceeded at the

the foot of the Alps or the Pyrenees. This conjecture of M. de Buffon, to whom we are indebted for so many useful and profound observations on animals, is worthy the attention of statesmen, whose steps ought always to be guided by the lights of philosophy.

The flesh of the lamas, when they are young, is good eating. The skin of the old ones serves the Indians for shoes, and the Spaniards for harness. The guanacos may also be eaten; but the vicunas are only sought after for their fleece, and for the bezoar that they produce.

In general, the wool of the lamas, pacos, guanacos, and vicunas was usefully employed by the Peruvians, before the conquest. The inhabitants of Cusco made tapestry of it for the use of the court, in which flowers, birds, and trees were pretty well imitated. It served also to make mantles, which were worn over a shirt of cotton. It is customary to tuck them up in order to have the arms free. The principal people fastened them with gold and silver clasps, their wives with pins made of these metals, ornamented with emeralds, and the common people with thorns. In hot countries, the mantles of persons of distinction were made of fine cotton, and dyed with various colours. The common people, in the same climate, had no cloathing at all except a girdle that was composed of the filaments of the bark of a tree, and served to cover those parts nature intended should be concealed.

After the conquest all the Indians were obliged to wear cloaths. As the oppression under which

which they groaned, did not allow them to exercife their former induftry, they contented themfelves with the coarfer cloths of Europe, for which they were made to pay an exorbitant price. When the gold and filver which had efcaped the rapacity of the conquerors were exhaufted, they thought of re-eftablifhing their national manufactures. Thefe were fome time after prohibited, on account of the deficiency, which they occafioned in the exports of the mother-country. The impoffibility, which the Peruvians found of purchafing foreign ftuffs and paying their taxes, occafioned permiffion to be given at the end of ten years for their re-eftablifhment. They have not been difcontinued fince that time, and have been brought to as great a degree of perfection as it was poffible they could be under a continual tyranny.

WITH the wool of the vicuna they make, at Cufco and in its territory, ftockings, handkerchiefs, and fcarfs. Thefe manufactures would have been multiplied, if the fpirit of deftruction had not fallen on animals as well as on men. The fame wool mixed with that of the fheep imported thither from Europe, which hath exceedingly degenerated, ferves for carpets, and makes alfo tolerably fine cloth. Fleeces of inferior quality are employed in ferges, druggets, and in all kinds of coarfe ftuffs.

THE manufactures fubfervient to luxury are eftablifhed at Arequipa, Cufco and Lima. In thefe three towns is made a prodigious number of gold toys and plate for the ufe of private perfons, and alfo for the churches. All thefe manufactures

are but coarſely wrought, and mixed with a great deal of copper. We ſeldom diſcover more taſte in their gold and ſilver laces and embroideries which their manufactures alſo produce. This is not altogether the caſe in regard to their lace, which when mixed with that of Europe, looks very beautiful. This laſt manufacture is commonly in the hands of the nuns, who employ in it the Peruvian girls, and the young Meſtees of the towns, who for the moſt part before marriage paſs ſome years in the convent.

OTHER hands are employed in painting and gilding leather for rooms, in making with wood and ivory pieces of inlaid work and ſculpture, and in drawing figures on the marble that is found at Cuenca, or on linen imported from Europe. Theſe different works, which are almoſt all manufactured at Cuſco, ſerve for ornaments for houſes, palaces, and temples: the drawing of them is not bad, but the colours are neither exact nor permanent. If the Indians, who invent nothing, but are excellent imitators, had able maſters, and excellent models, they would at leaſt make good copyiſts. At the cloſe of the laſt century, ſome works of a Peruvian painter, named Michael de St. Jaques, were brought to Rome, and the connoiſſeurs diſcovered marks of genius in them.

THESE particulars will intereſt ſuch of our readers, whom we ſhall have inſpired with affection for one of the beſt nations that ever exiſted, and with eſteem for one of the moſt excellent inſtitutions that ever did honour to mankind. Thoſe who are ſtrangers to that univerſal benevo-

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lence which extends to all nations and all ages, will have experienced other ſentiments. Accuſtomed to behold nothing in Peru but the produce of its mines, they muſt conſequently regard with contempt every thing that has not a direct relation with their avarice. This would diminiſh, perhaps be totally corrected, if they were but diſpoſed frequently to revolve by what barbarity and enormities it has been gratified.

Of the mines of Peru.

THOUGH the Peruvians were unacquainted with coin, they knew the uſe of gold and ſilver; for they employed them in different kinds of ornaments. Independent of what the torrents and accident procured them of theſe metals, ſome mines had been opened of little depth. The Spaniards have not tranſmitted to us the manner, in which theſe rich productions were drawn from the boſom of the earth. Their pride, which has deprived us of ſo much uſeful knowledge, undoubtedly made them think, that in the inventions of a people whom they called barbarous, there was nothing that was worthy to be recorded.

THE difference as to the manner in which the Peruvians worked their mines, did not extend to the mines themſelves. The conquerors opened them on all ſides. At firſt the gold mines tempted the avarice of the greater number. Fatal experience diſcouraged thoſe whom paſſion had not blinded. They clearly ſaw, that for ſome enormous fortunes raiſed in this manner, great numbers who had only moderate fortunes were totally ruined. Theſe mines ſank into ſuch diſcredit, that in order to prevent them from being abandoned,

doned, the government was obliged to take the twentieth part of their produce, inſtead of the fifth which it at firſt received.

THE mines of ſilver were more common, more equal, and richer. They even produced ſilver of a ſingular ſpecies, rarely found elſewhere. Towards the ſea coaſt, great lumps of this metal are found in the ſands. Subterraneous fires, volcanos, and the revolutions which America hath experienced and ſtill continues to ſuffer, ſeem to indicate the cauſes of the tranſpoſition of thoſe metallic maſſes, that are met with in ſeveral parts of this continent.

THERE are a great number of other mines which are infinitely more important, and are found in the rocks and on the mountains. Several of them gave falſe hopes. Such in particular was that of Ucuntaya, diſcovered 1713. This was only an incruſtation of almoſt maſſive ſilver, which at firſt yielded ſeveral millions, but was ſoon exhauſted.

OTHERS which were deeper, have been alike deſerted. Their produce, though equal to what it was originally, was not ſufficient to ſupport the expence of working them, which augmented every day. The mines of Quito, Cuſco, and Arequipa, have experienced that revolution which awaits many of the reſt.

THERE are great numbers of very rich mines which the waters have invaded. The declivity of the ſoil which from the ſummit of the Cordeleras runs continually ſhelving to the South Sea, muſt neceſſarily render theſe events more common at

Peru

Peru than in other places. This inconvenience, which with greater care and ſkill might often have been prevented or diminiſhed, has been in ſome inſtances remedied. A ſingle inſtance will be ſufficient to ſhew that the avarice of mankind can ſtruggle againſt that of nature, when ſhe conceals or withdraws from us her treaſures.

JOSEPH SALCEDO, about the year 1660, had diſcovered not far from the town of Puna, the mine of Laycacota. It was ſo rich, that the ſilver was often cut with a chiſſel. Proſperity, which debaſes little minds, had ſo elevated that of the proprietor of ſo much opulence, that he permitted all the Spaniards who came to ſeek their fortune in this part of the new world to work ſome days on their own account, without weighing or taking any account of the preſents he made them. This generoſity attracted an infinite number of people about him, whoſe avidity made them quarrel with each other; the love of money made them take up arms, and fall upon one another; and their benefactor, who had neglected no expedient to prevent and extinguiſh their ſanguinary contentions, was hanged as being the author of them. While he was in priſon the water got poſſeſſion of his mine. Superſtition ſoon made it imagined that this was a puniſhment for the infamous manner in which they had acted towards him. This idea of divine vengeance was revered for a long time; but at laſt in 1740, Diego de Baena aſſociated with other opulent people, to avert the ſprings, which had deluged ſo much treaſure. The labours which this difficult undertaking required, were

were not finiſhed till 1754. The mine yields as much now as it did at firſt. But mines ſtill richer than this have been diſcovered, which have experienced no revolution. Such, for example, is that of Potoſi, which was found in the ſame country where the Incas worked that of Porco.

An Indian, named Hualpa, in 1545, purſuing ſome deer, in order to climb certain ſteep rocks laid hold of a buſh, the roots of which looſened from the earth, and brought to view an ingot of ſilver. The Indian had recourſe to it for his own uſe, and never failed to return to his treaſure every time that his wants or his deſires ſollicited him to it. The change that had happened in his fortune was remarked by his countryman Guanca, to whom he avowed the ſecret. The two friends could not keep their counſel and enjoy their good fortune. They quarrelled; on which the indiſcreet confident diſcovered the whole to his maſter Villaroel, a Spaniard that was ſettled in the neighbourhood. Upon this the mine became known and was worked; and a great number of mines were found in its vicinity; the principal of which are in the northern part of the mountain, and their direction is from north to ſouth. The moſt intelligent people of Peru have obſerved, that this is in general, the direction of the richeſt mines.

The fame of what was paſſing at Potoſi ſoon ſpread abroad, and there was ſoon built at the foot of the mountain, a town conſiſting of ſixty thouſand Indians, and ten thouſand Spaniards. The ſterility of the ſoil did not prevent it's being immediately peopled. Corn, fruits, flocks, Ameri-

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can ſtuffs, European luxuries arrived there from every quarter. Induſtry, which every where follows the current of money, could not ſearch for it with ſo much ſucceſs as at its ſource. It evidently appeared that in 1738 theſe mines produced annually 22,338,975 livres *, without reckoning the ſilver which was not regiſtered, and what had been carried off by ſmuggling. From that time the produce has been ſo much diminiſhed, that no more than one eighth part of the coin which was formerly ſtruck, is now made.

The mine of Potoſi, and all the mines of South America, in purifying their gold and ſilver, uſe mercury, with which they are ſupplied from Guança Velica. Mercury, ſays an able naturaliſt, is found in two different ſtates in the boſom of the earth; it is either altogether pure, and in the fluid form which is proper to it, and then it is denominated virgin mercury, becauſe it has not experienced the action of fire, in order to be extracted from the mine; or it is found combined with ſulphur, and then it forms a ſubſtance of a red colour, which is more or leſs vivid, called cinnabar.

Till the mine of virgin mercury, which was lately diſcovered at Montpellier under the buildings of the town itſelf, and for that reaſon will probably never be worked, there had been no others known in Europe, except thoſe of Udria in Carniola. Theſe are in a valley, at the foot of high mountains, which were called by the Romans *Alpes Juliæ*. They were diſcovered by chance in

* Near 978,000l.

1497.

1497. They are about nine hundred feet deep. The defcent into them is by pits, as into all other mines. There are under ground an infinite number of galleries, of which fome are fo low, that it is neceffary to ftoop in order to pafs along; there are places where it is fo hot, that if one ftops ever fo fhort a time, one is in a profufe fweat: it is from thefe fubterraneous caverns that mercury is drawn. Some ftones are replete with it to that degree, that when they are bruifed, this fubftance iffues out in the form of globules or drops. 'Tis found alfo in a fpecies of clay: fometimes even this mercury is feen running down like rain, and oozes fo copioufly among the rocks which form the vaults of thefe fubterraneous caverns, that a man has often gathered thirty-fix pounds of it in a day.

THERE are fome people fo fond of the marvellous, that they prefer this mercury to the other; which is mere prejudice. Experience fhews that the beft mercury that can be ufed either in medicine or in metallurgy, is that which hath been extracted from cinnabar. In order to feparate the natural combination of thefe two volatile fubftances, fulphur and mercury, recourfe muft neceffarily be had to the action of fire, to which fome intermediate fubftance muft be joined. This is either the filings of fteel or copper, or the regulus of antimony, or lime, or fome fixed alkaline falt. This laft fpecies of mercury is drawn from Hungary, Sclavonia, Bohemia, Carinthia, Friuli, and Normandy; efpecially from Almaden in Spain, which was a famous mine even in the time of the Romans,

mans, and which with that of Guança Velica has for ſome ſhort time contributed to ſerve the Spaniſh colonies.

THE common opinion is, that this laſt mine was diſcovered in 1564. The trade of mercury was then ſtill free: it became an excluſive trade in 1571. At this period all the mines of mercury were ſhut, and that of Guança Velica alone was worked, the property of which the king reſerved to himſelf. It is not found to diminiſh. This mine is dug in a prodigiouſly large mountain, ſixty leagues from Lima. In its profound abyſs are ſeen ſtreets, ſquares, and a chapel, where the myſteries of religion on all feſtivals are celebrated. Millions of flambeaux are continually kept to enlighten it.

THE earth, which contains the quickſilver of this mine, is, according to the opinion of a celebrated traveller, of a whitiſh red, like ill burnt brick. It is pounded, and put into an earthen kiln, the upper part of which is a vault like an oven, ſomewhat of a ſpherical form. This is extended on an iron grate covered with earth, under which a gentle fire is kept up with the herb *icho*, which is fitter for this proceſs than any other combuſtible matter, and the cutting of which on this account is prohibited twenty leagues round. The heat which penetrates this earth makes the pounded mineral ſo hot, that the quickſilver iſſues out of it volatiliſed in ſmoke. But as the upper part of the kiln is cloſely ſtopped, the ſmoke finds no iſſue but by a ſmall hole which has a communication with a ſeries of earthen retorts that are round, and the

the necks of which are inſerted into each other. There, this ſmoke circulates and condenſes by means of a little water, which is at the bottom of each retort. The quickſilver then falls in a well formed liquid. Leſs of it is collected in the firſt than in the laſt retorts. They would all grow ſo hot as to break in pieces, if care were not taken to ſprinkle them on the outſide with water.

PRIVATE people at their own expence work the mine of Guança Velica. They are obliged to deliver to government at a ſtipulated price all the mercury they extract from it. As ſoon as they have procured the quantity which the demands of one year require, the work is ſuſpended. Part of the mercury is ſold on the ſpot, and the reſt is ſent to the royal magazines throughout all Peru, from whence it is delivered out at the ſame price as it is ſold for in Mexico. This arrangement, which has occaſioned many of the mines to drop, and prevented others from being opened, is inexcuſable in the Spaniſh ſyſtem. The court of Madrid, in this reſpect, merits the ſame reproaches as a miniſtry in other countries would incur, that would be blind enough to lay a duty on the implements of agriculture.

THE mine of Guança Velica generally affects thoſe who work in it with convulſions: this and the other mines, which are not leſs unhealthy, are all worked by the Peruvians. Theſe unfortunate victims of an inſatiable avarice are crowded all together and plunged naked into theſe abyſſes, the greateſt part of which are deep, and all exceſſively cold.

cold. Tyranny has invented this refinement in cruelty to render it impoffible for any thing to efcape its reftlefs vigilance. If there are any wretches who long furvive fuch barbarity, it is the ufe of cocoa that preferves them.

THE cocoa is a fhrub which hardly ever rifes higher than from three to four feet; its fruit is difpofed in bunches. It is red when it begins to ripen, and black when it hath attained its maturty Its leaf, which is foft, of a pale green, and refembling that of the myrtle, is the delight of the Peruvians. They chew it after having mixed it with a white earth which they call *mambis*; it is ufed by them for food; it ftrengthens their ftomachs, and fupports their courage. If thofe who are buried in the mines are in want of it, they ceafe working, and no means whatever can compel them to refume their labour. Their oppreffors, therefore, furnifh them with as much as they require, fubftracting the price of it from their daily wages. The environs of Cufco furnifh the beft cocoa.

Mutual communication between the different provinces of Peru

THIS plant, the other productions of the country, and the produce of all the manufactures, are difperfed throughout the empire in three different ways. The towns fituated on the coaft are furnifhed with provifions by veffels that are adapted to thofe feas, which are always calm. An innumerable multitude of mules, which are brought from Tucuman, are ufed in the intercourfe which feveral provinces have with each other. The greateft circulation is effected by means of the Guayaquil.

ON

On the banks of this river, the origin of which is in the Cordeléras, the Spaniards at the time of the conqueſt built a pretty conſiderable town, at ſix leagues diſtance from the ſea. This is defended by three forts lately erected, and only garriſoned with burgeſſes. Theſe forts are built with large pieces of wood, diſpoſed in palliſades. The nature of this wood, which is proof againſt water, ſuits the moiſture of the ſoil.

It is mentioned in the accounts of a Spaniſh philoſopher, that on this coaſt, as well as that of Guatimala, is found the murex, which yields that purple ſo celebrated by the antients, and which the moderns have imagined was loſt. The ſhell which contains it, adheres to the rocks that are waſhed by the ſea. It is of the ſize of a large walnut. The liquor of this animal may be extracted two ways; ſome kill it, after they have drawn it out of the ſhell, then preſs it with a knife from head to tail, ſeparate from the body the part where the liquor is collected, and throw away the reſt. When this operation, after being repeated on ſeveral ſnails, has afforded a certain quantity of fluid, the thread intended to be dyed is dipped in it, and the proceſs is finiſhed. The colour, which is at firſt of the whiteneſs of milk, becomes afterwards green, and is not purple till the thread is dry. Thoſe who diſapprove this method, draw the fiſh partly out of the ſhell, and ſqueezing it make it yield a fluid which ſerves for dying: they repeat this operation four times at different intervals, but always with leſs ſucceſs. If they continue it, the fiſh dies, by their deſtroying that which conſtitutes

conſtitutes the firſt principle of its life, and which it is no longer able to renew. No colour at preſent known, can be compared to this of which we are ſpeaking, either as to luſtre, livelineſs, or duration; it ſucceeds better with cotton than with wool, linen, or ſilk.

Besides this object of curioſity, Guayaquil furniſhes the inland country of the empire with oxen, mules, ſalt, and ſalt fiſh; it ſupplies Europe and Mexico with a great quantity of cocoa, but Peru with only a ſmall quantity, as there the herb of Paraguay is generally preferred. It is the univerſal dock-yard of the South Sea, and might, partly, become that of the mother country. We know no country on the globe that equally abounds in wood for ſhip-building and maſts, either as to quality or quantity. Hemp and pitch, of which it is deſtitute, might eaſily be furniſhed by Chili and Guatimala.

But what renders Guayaquil of ſtill greater importance, is the advantage it poſſeſſes of being the neceſſary mart and bond of communication of the mountains of Peru with its valleys, with Panama and with Mexico. All the merchandiſe which theſe countries exchange, paſſes through the hands of its merchants. The largeſt veſſels ſtop at the harbour of the iſland of Puna, which is ſituated at the entrance of the gulph, and others go up the river about forty leagues.

Notwithstanding ſo many ſources of proſperity, the people of Guayaquil, whoſe numbers amount to twenty thouſand ſouls, are far from being wealthy. The fortunes of its inhabitants have

have been ſucceſſively deſtroyed nine times by fires, which have been aſcribed to the diſcontentedneſs of the negroes, and by pirates, who have twice ſacked the town. Thoſe fortunes, which have been acquired ſince theſe fatal periods, have not continued in the country. A climate, where the heat is intolerable the whole year, and the rains inceſſant for ſix months; where dangerous and noiſome inſects do not allow any tranquillity; where diſtempers of the moſt oppoſite degrees of temperature appear to be united; where one lives in the perpetual dread of loſing one's ſight, ſuch a climate is by no means proper to fix the reſidence of its inhabitants. Such perſons are only ſeen here, as have not acquired eſtates ſufficient to enable them to remove elſewhere, and ſpend their days in indolence and pleaſure. A taſte, which predominates in the empire, induces the moſt opulent to reſide at Lima.

THIS capital of Peru, ſo celebrated in all parts of the world, is ſituated at two leagues from the ſea, in a delicious plain, at about an equal diſtance from the equator and the ſouthern tropic, to unite as it were all the riches and delights of South America. The proſpect from it on one ſide extends over a tranquil ocean, on the other it commands a diſtance of thirty leagues as far as the Cordeleras. The ſoil of its territory is nothing but a heap of flints, which the ſea has undoubtedly in a ſeries of ages piled together, but they are covered with earth a foot below the ſurface, which the ſpring waters, that are every where found on digging, have brought from the mountains. It is in

in vain that the Spaniards would attribute the origin of these waters to their being filtrated from the sea; the theory of the globe and its natural construction testify against the validity of this opinion, which all experiments besides confirm to be false.

SUGAR canes, incredible multitudes of olives, some vines, artificial meads, pastures full of salt which give mutton an exquisite taste, small grain appropriated to the feeding of fowls, fruit-trees of every kind, and certain other plantations, cover the surface of these fortunate plains. A sea replete with fish contributes its stores to render provisions plentiful at a moderate price. Crops of wheat and barley added to this resource; but an earth-quake happening about a century ago, caused such a revolution, that the seeds rotted without sprouting. After forty years of sterility, the husbandman seeing the soil improved, was disposed to resume his former occupations. Chili, which had an exclusive privilege of furnishing Lima with provisions, opposed the cultivation of its territory, and the capital of Spain did not allow that of Peru to support itself again by its own productions till 1750.

LIMA, founded more than two centuries ago, and built by the destroyers of Peru, has been destroyed at different times by eleven earth-quakes. The twelfth, which happened on the 28th of October 1746, in three minutes time ingulphed the town, its harbour of Callao, all the vessels belonging to the coast, with fifteen hundred millions *, as it is reported, of silver, either coined, worked, or in ingots. Those who had for a long time been

* 65,525,00 l.

ſunk as it were into a ſtate of lethargy, have been awakened by this violent concuſſion. A new ſpirit of activity and emulation has been productive of labour and induſtry. Lima, though leſs wealthy, is at preſent more agreeable than in 1682, when its gates preſented to the view of the duke of Palata on his entering, ſtreets paved with ſilver.

These ſtreets now are only regular, with neat houſes and public buildings which diſplay ſkill and taſte. The water of the river which waſhes its walls, has been confined in proper channels, and diſtributed for the convenience of the citizens, the ornament of gardens, and the fertility of the fields.

But the walls of the city are defective from the very ſolidity of their foundations. At the diſtance of a few leagues from Lima we ſee ſome houſes formerly built, that were but juſt placed as it were on the ſurface of the earth without any cement; which, however, have reſiſted thoſe aſſaults and convulſions that have overturned the deep-laid edifices of the Spaniards. The natives of the country, when they ſaw the foundations dug, and built with mortar, ſaid that their tyrants were digging graves for themſelves. Perhaps it was ſome conſolation to the wretchedneſs of the conquered, to foreſee that the earth itſelf would take its revenge of its depopulators; but in this reſpect two centuries of chaſtiſement have not reformed them. The pleaſure of having commodious houſes, or the vanity of raiſing ſpacious ones, ſtill triumphs over the danger of their being cruſhed to pieces.

* 65,625,000l.

The

The ſcourges of nature, which gave occaſion to the introduction of the arts into Lima, have produced no happy revolution in the manners of its inhabitants. Superſtition, which reigns throughout the whole extent of the Spaniſh dominions, at Peru has two ſcepters at its command; one of gold, for the uſurping and triumphant nation; the other of iron, for the enſlaved and pillaged inhabitants. The ſcapulary and the roſary are all the tokens of religion which the monks require of the Spaniards. It is on the form and colour of theſe kinds of taliſmans that the populace and the grandees found the proſperity of their undertakings, the ſucceſs of their amorous intrigues, and the hopes of their ſalvation. The religious habit aſſumed in the laſt moments, conſtitutes the ſecurity of opulent people who have lived ill; they are convinced, that when wrapped in this cloathing, which is ſo formidable to the devil, he will not dare to deſcend into their graves, and ſeize upon their ſouls. If their aſhes repoſe near the altar, they hope to partake of the ſacrifices and prayers of the prieſts, much more than the poor and the ſlaves. Influenced by ſuch fatal prejudices, what enormities will they not commit to acquire riches, which ſecure their happineſs in this world, and in the next? The vanity of immortalizing their name, and the promiſe of eternal life, ſecure to the monks a fortune, which they can no longer enjoy; and families are diſappointed of an inheritance, whether acquired by honeſty or fraud, by legacies which ſerve to enrich men who have diſcovered the ſecret of eſcaping poverty, by devoting

devoting themſelves to it. Thus it is that the order of ſentiments, ideas, and things is ſubverted; and the children of opulent parents are condemned to miſery by the pious rapaciouſneſs of a number of voluntary mendicants. The French, Dutch, and Engliſh loſe their national prejudices by travelling; the Spaniard carries his along with him throughout the whole univerſe: and ſuch is the madneſs of bequeathing legacies to the church, that the ground of all the houſes of Peru belongs to the prieſthood, or depends on them with regard to rent. The inſtitution of Monkiſh orders has done at Peru what the law of the *Vacuf* will do, ſooner or later, at Conſtantinople. Here the people bequeath their fortunes to a minaret, in order to ſecure it to their heirs; there they deprive an heir of it by leaving it to a monaſtery from the dread of being damned. The means are a little different, but in the end the effect is the ſame. In both countries, the church is the gulph, in which all the riches are abſorbed, and theſe Caſtilians, who were heretofore ſo formidable, ſhrink before ſuperſtition, as Aſiatic ſlaves do in the preſence of their deſpot.

If we were to judge of the Creoles from theſe extravagancies, we ſhould be tempted to believe them to be totally ſtupid; but we ſhould be miſtaken. The inhabitants of the valleys have ſome degree of penetration, and thoſe of the mountains are not deſtitute of it. Both deem themſelves very much ſuperior to the Spaniſh Europeans, whom they conſider as *cavallos*, that is to ſay brutes.

They

They poffefs more underftanding than courage. All thefe people, though diffatisfied with government, are alike fubmiffive to it. Men every where forget their numbers and their ftrength. There, even the very name of royal officers is formidable; and four foldiers, difpatched by the viceroy, make whole towns tremble at the diftance of four hundred leagues from the capital.

This timidity in a Peruvian, is the caufe or the effect of his effeminacy. He lives among courtezans, or amufes himfelf at home in drinking the herb of Paraguay. He is afraid to diminifh the joys of love by confining it within legitimate bonds. The majority of the inhabitants marry behind the church, that is their expreffion, which fignifies living in a ftate of concubinage. If the children who iffue from this commerce are acknowledged by their parents, they inherit, and their birth incurs no ftain. The bifhops anathematize every year, at Eafter, thofe perfons who are united in thefe illicit bonds. But what power have thefe vain terrors againft the impulfe of amorous defires, which are fanctified by cuftom, againft the toleration or example of ecclefiaftics of the fecond order, and againft the climate, which is continually contending, and at laft proves victorious over all the civil and religious laws that oppofe its influence?

The charms of the Peruvian women are fuperior to the terror which the fpiritual arms of Rome infpire. The majority of them, efpecially the women of Lima, have eyes fparkling with vivacity, a fair fkin, a complexion that is delicate, animated, full of fprightlinefs and life, and a flender and well-

well-formed ſhape, which is extremely alluring. But that which has a greater effect on the men, is the ſmallneſs of a pretty foot, which in their infancy is faſhioned to this diminutiveneſs by ſtrait ſhoes. They turn away from the large feet of the Spaniſh women to admire thoſe of a Peruvian, who to the artifice of generally concealing them, adds the happy addreſs of ſometimes letting them be ſeen.

To theſe very ſmall feet we may add long treſſes, which might ſerve as a veil to modeſty, on account of their thickneſs and colour, and their natural diſpoſition to grow long. The women of Lima dreſs ſome of their hair very high on their heads, and the reſt they ſuffer to fall on their ſhoulders in the form of ringlets, without buckling or curling it. They are ſo jealous of preſerving it in its own natural beauty, that they do not put the leaſt additional ornament to it. Pearls and diamonds are reſerved for ear-rings, for large necklaces, for bracelets, for rings, and for a plate of gold ſuſpended on the center of the boſom by a ribband which goes round the body. A woman even who has no titles, and is not ennobled, ſeldom goes out full dreſſed, but ſhe diſplays in jewels from the value of an hundred to an hundred and fifty thouſand livres *; yet it is the faſhion to affect an indifference for theſe trifles. It is neceſſary that a woman ſhould loſe, or let fall, ſome of them without taking notice of it, that ſhe ſhould always have ſome jewel to replace or to add.

* On an average about 5,500 l.

2 BUT

But what ſeduces the eyes and raiſes the greateſt emotion, is a dreſs which leaves the boſom and the ſhoulders bare, and only deſcends to half way the leg. From thence to the ancle falls a lace, through which are ſeen the ends of garters embroidered with gold or ſilver, and ornamented with pearls. The linen, the petticoat, the habit, all is loaded with the fineſt lace. A woman ſeldom appears in public without being attended by three or four ſlaves, moſt of them mulatto women, in liveries as the men are, and adorned with lace as their miſtreſſes.

These ladies are fond of perfumes. They are never without amber, they ſcent their linen and their cloaths with it, and even their noſegays, as if there were ſomething wanting to the natural perfume of flowers. The amber is undoubtedly an additional allurement to the men, and the flowers impart a new attraction to the women. With theſe they adorn their ſleeves, and ſometimes their hair, like ſhepherdeſſes. In the great ſquare of Lima, where there are every day ſold flowers, to the amount of ſixteen or twenty thouſand livres *, ladies are ſeen in gilt calaſhes, purchaſing what is moſt rare without regard to the price; and men in crowds adoring and contemplating what nature has formed moſt charming to embelliſh and enchant the dream of life.

Where can theſe delights be enjoyed more than at Peru? It is the proper province of the women to feel and communicate them. Among other

* Near 800l. on an average.

pleaſures

pleaſures the women of Lima love muſic, of which they are extravagantly fond. Nothing is heard on every ſide but ſinging, and concerts of vocal and inſtrumental muſic. They have frequent balls. They dance here with ſurprizing lightneſs, but they neglect the graces of the arms to attend to the agility of the feet, and eſpecially to the inflections of the body; which are images of the true emotions of voluptuouſneſs, as the expreſſion of the countenance is the true accompaniment of dancing. As the arms conſpire to give grace to the attitude, ſo the ideas of pleaſure are ſtill more ſtrongly expreſſed by the body. In countries where theſe ſenſations are moſt lively, dancing will agitate the feet and the body more than the arms.

Such are the pleaſures which the women taſte and diffuſe at Lima. Among many expedients to heighten and preſerve their charms, they have a cuſtom which it were to be wiſhed that they would conſent to abandon, which is the uſe of *limpion.* This name is given to ſmall rolls of tobacco, four inches long and nine lines in diameter, wrapped in the whiteſt thread, from which the tobacco is drawn out as it is uſed. The ladies only put the end of the limpion to their mouth, and chew it for a moment.

This maſtication is particularly uſed in public aſſemblies, where women receive company. Here is a drawing room, along one ſide of which runs an alcove half a foot high, and five or ſix feet broad; it is here that careleſſly ſeated, and with croſſed legs on carpets and ſuperb cuſhions, they paſs

paſs whole days without changing their poſture even to eat; they uſe little tables, placed before them, for any work with which they chooſe to amuſe themſelves. The men whom they admit to their converſation ſit in elbow chairs, unleſs their adorers, from greater intimacy, are permitted to deſcend in the alcove, which is, as it were, the ſanctuary of worſhip and of the idol. Yet theſe goddeſſes love rather to be affable than haughty; and, baniſhing ceremony, they play on the harp and guitar, and ſing and dance when they are deſired.

THEIR huſbands are not the perſons who are the chief objects of their complaiſance. As the greateſt part of the moſt conſiderable citizens of Lima are devoted to their courtezans, the great heireſſes are reſerved for Europeans, who come over into America. The advantage which theſe have of making the fortunes of their huſbands, naturally prompts them to exert an authority over them: but let them only have the ſway of which they are ſo jealous, and they will prove conſtantly faithful. So cloſely is virtue connected with a certain degree of pride!

THE manners of the Meſtees, and of the free Mulattoes, who compoſe the greateſt part of the inhabitants of Lima, and who are employed in the arts, hardly differ from the manners of the Spaniards. The habit they have contracted of ſleeping after dinner, and repoſing one part of the day, makes them ſet a greater price upon their labour than they ought. The time they devote to labour muſt procure them the conveniences as well

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as the luxuries of life, which in general they carry to great excefs. Their wives in particular value themfelves on the magnificence of their furniture and drefs. They never go out but in carriages, and imitate the ladies of the firft rank even with regard to their fhoes. They habituate themfelves to prefs their feet very tight in order to hide their natural fize, which is feldom corrected by this management. But though they carry their imitation fo far as to form companies and affemblies, as they do, yet they never attain a perfect refemblance to them. Their hufbands are ftill further removed from the polite manners of the European Spaniard or the Creole; though there is but little real merit or genius required to copy them. They are rude, haughty, and troublefome; but thefe faults, which are irkfome in fociety, are fcarce ever carried to fuch exceffes or violences as to difturb the public order.

The whole commerce of Lima is in the hands of the Spaniards, the number of whom is from fifteen to fixteen thoufand. The capitals they employ in trade are immenfe. There are not in reality more than ten or twelve houfes whofe capitals exceed two millions *; but thofe of one million † are very common, and of five hundred thoufand livres ‡ ftill more fo. The defire of enjoying their riches, the vanity of making an appearance, the paffion of ornamenting churches, prevent the fortunes of the Creoles from advancing to fuch a degree as the nature of things would admit. The

* 87,500l. † 43,750l. ‡ 21,875l.

European

European Spaniards, who are ſolely occupied in purſuing the plan of returning to their country, ſhew that with induſtry and œconomy people may very ſoon enrich themſelves. Merchants, who are in want of aſſiſtance, are ſure to find it in the poſterity of the conquerors of Peru. If ſome of theſe diſtinguiſhed families have perpetuated their ſplendour by entailing their eſtates upon their eldeſt ſons, and by the revenues alone of their eſtates, the greateſt part have only ſupported it by taking part in commercial tranſactions. A ſpecies of induſtry which is ſo honourable to human nature, whoſe underſtanding, power, and activity it enlarges, has never been deemed to derogate from their nobility; and in this point alone they have abandoned the falſe and romantic ideas of their anceſtors. Theſe means joined to the immenſe depoſits which come from the inland countries, have rendered Lima the center of all the tranſactions which the provinces of Peru are continually carrying on either among themſelves, or with Mexico and Chili, or with the mother country.

Communication of Peru with Europe.

THE ſtraits of Magellan appeared the only open way to form this laſt connection. The length of the paſſage, the terror inſpired by ſtormy and almoſt unknown ſeas, the fear of exciting the ambition of other nations, the impoſſibility of finding an aſylum in caſe of unfortunate accidents; and other conſiderations, perhaps, turned the general views towards Panama.

THIS town, which had been the gate through which an entrance had been gained into Peru, had

riſen

risen to great prosperity, when in 1670 it was pillaged and burnt by pirates. It was rebuilt on a more advantageous spot, at the distance of four or five miles from the first. Its harbour, called Perico, is very secure. It is formed by an archipelago consisting of forty eight small islands, and is capable of containing the largest fleets.

THIS place, a little while after it was founded, became the capital of the kingdom of Terra Firma. Some hopes were at first entertained from the three provinces of Panama, Darien, and Veragua, which composed it; but this prosperity vanished instantaneously. The savages of Darien recovered their independence; and the mines of the two other provinces were found to be neither sufficiently abundant, nor of an alloy good enough, to make it worth while to work them. Five or six small boroughs, in which are seen some Europeans quite naked, and a very small number of Indians, who have come to reside there, form the whole of this state, which the Spaniards are not ashamed of honouring with the great name of kingdom. It is in general barren and unwholesome, and contributes nothing to trade but pearls.

THE pearl fishery is carried on in the islands of the gulph. The greatest part of the inhabitants employ such of their negroes in it, as are good swimmers. These slaves plunge and replunge in the sea in search of pearls, till this exercise has exhausted their strength or their spirits.

EVERY negro is obliged to deliver a certain number of oysters. Those in which there are no pearls, or in which the pearl is not entirely formed, are

are not reckoned. What he is able to find beyond the ſtipulated obligation, is conſidered as his indiſputable property: he may ſell it to whom he pleaſes; but commonly he cedes it to his maſter at a moderate price.

SEA monſters, which abound more about the iſlands where pearls are found than on the neighbouring coaſts, render this fiſhing dangerous. Some of theſe devour the divers in an inſtant. The manta fiſh, which derives its name from its figure, ſurrounds them, rolls them under its body, and ſuffocates them. In order to defend themſelves againſt ſuch enemies, every diver is armed with a poinard: the moment he perceives any of theſe voracious fiſh, he attacks them with precaution, wounds them, and drives them away. Notwithſtanding this, there are always ſome fiſhermen deſtroyed, and a great number crippled.

THE pearls of Panama are commonly of a very fine water. Some of them are even remarkable for their ſize and figure: theſe were formerly ſold in Europe. Since art has imitated them, and the paſſion for diamonds has entirely ſuperſeded or prodigiouſly diminiſhed the uſe of them, they have found a new mart, more advantageous than the firſt. They are carried to Peru, where they are in great eſtimation.

THIS branch of trade has, however, infinitely leſs contributed to give reputation to Panama, than the advantage which it hath long enjoyed of being the mart of all the productions of the country of the Incas, that are deſtined for the old world. Theſe riches, which are brought hither by a ſmall fleet,

fleet, were carried, ſome on mules, others by the river Chagre, to Porto Bello, that is ſituated on the northern coaſt of the iſthmus which ſeparates the two ſeas.

THOUGH the ſituation of this town was ſurveyed and approved by Columbus in 1502, it was not built till 1584, from the ruins of Nombre de Dios. It is diſpoſed in the form of a creſcent, on the declivity of a mountain which ſurrounds the harbour. This celebrated harbour, which was formerly very well defended by forts which Admiral Vernon deſtroyed in 1740, ſeems to afford an entrance ſix hundred toiſes broad; but it is ſo ſtraitened by rocks that are near the ſurface of the water, that it is reduced to a very narrow canal. Veſſels can only be towed into it, becauſe they always experience either contrary winds or a great calm. Here they enjoy perfect ſecurity.

THE intemperature of the climate of Porto Bello is ſo notorious, that it has been named the grave of the Spaniards. More than once the galleons have been left here, becauſe they had loſt in this place the greateſt part of their crew. The Engliſh, who blockaded it in 1726, would not have been able to have returned to Jamaica, if they had waited ſome days longer. The inhabitants themſelves do not live long, and have all a weak conſtitution. It is rather a diſgrace to be obliged to reſide here. Some negroes and mulattoes only are to be met with, with a ſmall number of white people, fixed by the poſts that the government intruſts them with. The garriſon itſelf, though only conſiſting of an hundred and

and fifty men, does not continue here more than three months at one time. Till the beginning of the present century no woman durft lie-in here: fhe would have deemed it devoting both her children and herfelf to certain death. It is an eftablifhed opinion, that the domeftic animals of Europe, which have prodigioufly multiplied in all the parts of the new world, lofe their fruitfulnefs on coming to Porto Bello; and if we may judge by the few that now are there, notwithftanding the abundance of paftures, we might be induced to believe that this opinion is not ill founded. The plants that are tranfplanted into this fatal region, where the heat, moifture, and the vapours are exceffive and continual, have never profpered. It would take up too much time to recount all the evils experienced here; it would be difficult to affign the caufes of them, and, perhaps, impoffible to point out the remedy.

These inconveniences prevented not Porto Bello from becoming at firft the center of the richeft commerce that ever exifted. While the riches of the new world arrived there to be exchanged for the productions of the old, the veffels that failed from Spain, known by the name of galleons, came hither, laden with all the articles of neceffity, convenience, and luxury, which could tempt the proprietors of the mines.

The deputies for tranfacting this commerce on both fides, regulated on board the admiral's fhip the price of goods, under the infpection of the commander of the fquadron and the prefident of

 Panama.

Panama. The eſtimate was not adjuſted by the intrinſic value of each article, but by its ſcarcity or plenty. The ability of the agents conſiſted in forming their combinations ſo judiciouſly, that the cargo imported from Europe ſhould abſorb all the treaſures that were come from Peru. It was regarded as a bad market, when there were found goods neglected for want of money, or money not laid out for want of goods. In this caſe only, the Spaniſh merchants were allowed to go and traffic in the South Seas, and the Peruvian merchants were permitted to make remittances to the mother country for their purchaſes.

As ſoon as the prices were ſettled, the traffic commenced. This was neither tedious nor difficult, it was carried on with the utmoſt frankneſs. Exchanges were made with ſo much honeſty, that they never opened their cheſts of piaſtres, nor proved the contents of their bales. This reciprocal confidence was never deceived. There were found more than once ſacks of gold mixed among ſacks of ſilver, and articles which were not entered on the invoice. All was exactly reſtored before the departure of the galleons, or on their return. There only happened in 1654 an event, which might have interrupted this confidence. It was found in Europe, that all the piaſtres that were received at the laſt fair, had a fifth of alloy. The loſs was borne by the Spaniſh merchants; but as the treaſurer of the mint at Lima was known to be the author of this fraud, the reputation of the Peruvian merchants incurred no diſgrace.

THE

THE fair, the duration of which on account of the noxious qualities of the air was limited to forty days, was regularly held. It is clear from the acts of 1595, that the galleons muſt have been diſpatched for Europe every year, or at the lateſt every eighteen months; and the twelve fleets that ſailed from the fourth of Auguſt 1628 to the third of June 1645, prove that this rule was ſtrictly obſerved. They returned at the end of eleven, ten, and ſometimes even eight months, with an hundred millions * and more, in gold, ſilver, and goods.

THIS proſperity continued without interruption to the middle of the ſeventeenth century. After the loſs of Jamaica, a conſiderable contraband trade took place, which till that time had been trifling. The ſacking of Panama in 1670, by John Morgan the Engliſh pirate, was attended with ſtill more fatal conſequences. Peru, which ſent thither its ſtock before-hand, now no longer tranſmitted it till after the arrival of the galleons at Carthagena. Delays, uncertainty, diſtruſt, were the conſequences of this change. The fairs were not much frequented, and ſmuggling increaſed.

SPAIN was threatened with a much greater evil. The Scots in 1690 landed twelve hundred men in the gulph of Darien. Their deſign was to gain the confidence of the ſavages, whom the Caſtilians had not been able to ſubdue, to arm them againſt a nation which they deteſted, to form a ſettlement on their territory, to break off the communication

* 4,375,000l.

of Carthagena with Porto-Bello, to intercept the galleons, and to unite their forces with thoſe of Jamaica, in order to acquire a deciſive ſuperiority in this part of the new world.

THIS plan, which had nothing chimerical in it, diſpleaſed Louis XIV. who offered to the court of Madrid a fleet to fruſtrate the deſign: it diſpleaſed the Dutch, who had reaſon to be afraid that this new company would one day divide with them the ſmuggling trade, which they monopolized in theſe latitudes: it was alſo diſagreeable to Spain, which threatened to confiſcate the effects of the ſubjects of Great Britain, who traded in her dominions. It was more particularly alarming to the Engliſh, who foreſaw, that their coloniſts would abandon their old plantations, to go and reſide on a territory teeming with gold; and that Scotland growing rich, would emerge from that kind of dependence to which its poverty had hitherto reduced it. This violent and univerſal oppoſition determined King William to revoke a permiſſion, which his favourites had extorted from him. He moreover prohibited all his colonies in the new world from furniſhing either arms, proviſions, or ammunition to a riſing ſettlement, whoſe ruin would inſure the public tranquility. Thus was ſtifled in its infancy a colony, the greatneſs of which did not appear to be remote, and muſt have been very conſiderable.

THE Spaniards had ſcarce time to rejoice at this happy event. The elevation of a prince of France to the throne of Charles V. kindled a general war; and at the commencement of the firſt hoſtili-

ties,

ties, the galleons were burnt in the port of Vigo, where the impoſſibility of gaining Cadiz had forced them to take ſhelter. The communication of Spain with Porto-Bello was then totally interrupted; and the South Sea had more than ever direct and regular connections with foreign powers.

THE peace of Utrecht, which ſeemed to promiſe a termination of theſe troubles, only ſerved to increaſe them. Philip V. who was forced to ſubmit, was compelled to withdraw the treaty of Aſſiento from the French; who being unſucceſsful in the whole courſe of the war, and at that time little acquainted with maritime commerce, had enjoyed this privilege from 1702, without deriving any conſiderable benefit from it. The French were ſucceeded by the Engliſh.

THE South Sea company, which enjoyed an excluſive privilege, was to furniſh four thouſand eight hundred Africans, and to pay the king of Spain 160 livres * a head for every negro. It was obliged to give only half for thoſe it ſhould import above this number, during the twenty-five firſt years of the ſtipulation. In the five laſt it was prohibited to import beyond what was ſpecified in the contract.

IT was permitted to ſhip from Europe, on board veſſels of an hundred and fifty tons burthen, in the north ſea, cloaths, medicines, proviſions, and equipment for its ſlaves, factors, and ſhips. It could ſell all theſe goods to Spaniſh veſſels, who might have occaſion for them to return.

* 7l.

On account of the diſtance, the company was authorized to build houſes on the river of Plata, to form lands in the neighbourhood of its factories, and get them cultivated by negroes or natives; that is to ſay, by means of this mart to engroſs the whole commerce of Chili and Paraguay.

The company had not leſs freedom with regard to the South Sea. It was permitted to freight at Panama, and in all the other ports on this coaſt, veſſels of four hundred tons burthen, in order to convey its negroes to all the coaſts of Peru, to equip them as it pleaſed, to nominate the commanders of them, to bring back the produce of its ſales in proviſions, in gold, or in ſilver, without being ſubject to any duty of import or export. It might ſend to Porto Bello, and convey from thence to Panama, every thing that was neceſſary for the fitting out of the ſhips it ſhould diſpatch.

Though theſe conceſſions muſt have been very diſagreeable to Spain, the Engliſh knew how to avail themſelves of their ſuperiority, and compelled her to a ſtill more painful ſubmiſſion. They obtained the permiſſion of ſending every year a veſſel laden with merchandiſe to the fair of Porto-Bello. It always arrived with a thouſand tons burthen, inſtead of five hundred which it was allowed to carry. It was neither furniſhed with water, nor proviſions. Four or five veſſels which followed it, ſupplied its wants; and frequently ſubſtituted goods in the place of ſuch as had been ſold. The galleons, ruined by this competition, were alſo greatly detrimented by every article that the Engliſh poured into their ports where they

carried

carried negroes. At laſt, after the expedition of 1737, it was impoſſible to ſupport this commerce any longer, and a ſtop was put to thoſe famous fairs envied by all nations, though they might be regarded as the common treaſure of all people. From this period Panama and Porto-Bello have aſtoniſhingly declined. Theſe two towns now only ſerve as a paſſage to the negroes that are carried into the South Sea, and for ſome other inconſiderable branches of a decaying traffic. Affairs of greater importance have been turned into another channel.

It is well known, that Magellan in 1520 diſcovered the famous ſtrait that bears his name, and which ſeparates the extremity of South America from Terra del Fuego. This ſtrait is computed to be near an hundred and ten leagues long, and in ſome places leſs than a league broad. Though it was for a long time the only paſſage known into the South Sea, the dangers incurred there cauſed it almoſt to be forgotten. The boldneſs of Drake the celebrated navigator, who ſailed by this track to ravage the coaſts of Peru, determined the Spaniards in 1582 to form at the ſtraits of Magellan a ſettlement, deſtined to become the key of this part of the new world. This new colony periſhed almoſt entirely for want of proviſions. Three years after, Fernando Gomez only was left there, who was brought back into Europe by the Engliſh pirate Thomas Cavendiſh.

The loſs of this colony was not ſo great an evil as it was apprehended to be. The ſtraits of Magellan ſoon ceaſed to be the road of thoſe pirates

who were urged by their mercenary views to viſit theſe remote regions. Some bold navigators having doubled Cape Horn, this became afterwards the road which the enemies of Spain followed, who deſigned to paſs into the South Sea. It was ſtill more frequented by French veſſels, during the war which cauſed ſuch confuſion in Europe at the beginning of the preſent century. The impoſſibility which Philip V. experienced to furniſh his colonies himſelf with proviſions, emboldened the ſubjects of his grandfather to go to Peru. The want of every thing which the inhabitants then experienced, made the French to be received with joy; and at firſt they got a profit of eight hundred per cent. Theſe enormous advantages were not continued. The competition at laſt was ſo conſiderable, the goods fell into ſuch diſrepute that it was impoſſible to ſell them, and ſeveral privateers burnt them, that they might not be obliged to carry them back into their country. The equilibrium was not long in re-eſtabliſhing itſelf; and theſe foreign traders made advantages that were conſiderable, when the court of Madrid in 1718 took effectual meaſures to remove them from theſe latitudes, which they had but too long frequented.

At this time the expeditions to the South Sea by Cape Horn were diſcontinued. The Spaniards themſelves reſumed them in 1740 with tolerable advantage. They flattered themſelves, that at the expiration of the treaty of Aſſiento, that of Peru would reſume its former activity. They muſt have been undeceived ſince that time. The colony has not furniſhed a greater quantity of bark, of the

the wool of the vicuna, and cocoa, than before, and the mines proved to be ſo conſiderably diminiſhed, that the annual returns in gold and ſilver did not exceed ſeventeen millions *. There was no part even of this ſum for government; becauſe though the ſame duties are eſtabliſhed at Peru as in Mexico and all the other ſettlements, the expences of adminiſtration have ſwallowed up the whole.

General remarks on new Grenada, which was detached from Peru.

Affairs were not conducted with more knowledge, probity, and œconomy in the vice-royalty of New Grenada, which was ſeparated from that of Peru. This new dominion, which was formed in 1718, extends along the South Sea from Panama to the gulph of Guayaquil; along the north ſea from Mexico to the river Oroonoko, and runs ſo far back into land, that it comprehends an immenſe territory.

The numerous provinces that compoſe this great government, are covered with immenſe foreſts, ſeparated by high mountains, and abounding with uncultivated lands. Theſe vaſt regions have not been entirely ſubdued. Here ſavages are to be met with in all parts, who have no other paſſion but that of ſurpriſing and maſſacring the Spaniards. Such even of the Indians who have been forced to ſubmit to the yoke, have vowed an implacable hatred againſt their tyrants. Their firſt concern is to perpetuate this animoſity in their family. They inceſſantly call to their children's remembrance the calamities which marked the firſt

* Near 744,000l.

arrival

arrival of the deſtroyers of the new world, and that ſanguinary ſpirit which hath never ceaſed to animate their ſucceſſors.

At the time of the conqueſt, this country was inhabited by an infinite number of nations that were not populous, the greateſt part of whom led a wandering life, and were moſt of them ferocious and indolent. The men here were more active, the women more beautiful and fair than in the neighbouring climates. The country being at a conſiderable diſtance from any of the great rivers, twenty, thirty and forty leagues may ſometimes be croſſed without meeting with a hut. Since the time of the invaſion, this ſcanty population hath ſcarce ſuffered any diminution; becauſe there has been no deſtructive labour carried on there, and that the ſubjected people have not been condemned to work in the mines. It is ſeldom that any thing is exacted from them beſides the tribute impoſed. Some pay this with proviſions; others with gold, which they find in the torrents or rivers. There are others who fulfil this kind of obligation from the profits they make on certain European goods, which they ſell to the Indians who have not yet been ſubdued.

Remarks on the country of Quito.

The country of Quito, which hath been incorporated with what is called the new kingdom, is the beſt known and the moſt agreeable part of it. Nothing, for inſtance, can be compared to the valley formed between the double chain of the Cordeleras mountains.

In the center of the torrid zone, and even immediately under the equator, all the beauties of

of ſpring are here inceſſantly enjoyed. The mildneſs of the air, the equality of day and night, yield a thouſand delights in a country which the ſun ſurrounds with a girdle of fire. It is preferred to the climate of the temperate zones, where the change of the ſeaſons occaſions ſenſations too much oppoſite not to be inconvenient from that very inequality. Nature appears to have combined under the line that covers ſo many ſeas and ſo little land, a multitude of circumſtances which conſpire to moderate the ardent heat of the ſun; theſe are the elevation of the globe in this ſummit of its ſphere; the vicinity of mountains of immenſe height and extent, and always covered with ſnows; and continual winds which refreſh the country the whole year, by interrupting the force of the perpendicular rays of heat. The whole univerſe would not afford a more agreeable retreat than the territory of Quito, if ſo many advantages were not counterbalanced by ſome inconveniences.

At one or two o'clock after noon, the time when the morning, which is almoſt always very fine, ends, the vapours begin to riſe, and the ſky is covered with gloomy clouds which are changed into ſtorms. Then the whole atmoſphere is illuminated, and appears to be ſet on fire by lightning; and the thunder makes the mountains reſound with a terrible noiſe. To theſe may be added dreadful earthquakes which ſometimes happen; at other times rain or ſunſhine prevails without intermiſſion for fifteen days together; and then there is an univerſal conſternation. The exceſs of

of moiſture ſpoils what is ſown, and drought produces dangerous diſeaſes.

But excepting when theſe unhappy accidents, which are very rare, take place, the climate of Quito is one of the moſt wholeſome. The air is generally ſo pure, that thoſe nauſeous inſects are there unknown which diſtreſs the greateſt part of the provinces of America. Though licentiouſneſs and neglect render venereal complaints here almoſt general, the people ſuffer very little from them. Thoſe who have inherited this contagious diſtemper, or who have acquired it, grow old equally without danger and without inconvenience.

The fertility of the ſoil anſwers to the mildneſs of the climate. The moiſture and the action of the ſun, being continual and always ſufficient to unfold and ſtrengthen the ſhoots, the agreeable picture of the three moſt beautiful ſeaſons of the year is continually preſented to the eye. In proportion as the graſs withers, freſh graſs ſprings up; and the enamel of the meadows is hardly paſt, but it appears afreſh. The trees are inceſſantly covered with green leaves, adorned with odoriferous flowers, and always laden with fruit; the colour, form and beauty of which are at once exhibited in all their ſeveral progreſſive ſtates from their firſt appearance to their maturity. The corn advances in the ſame progreſſion of fertility that is always renewing. At one view one may behold the new ſown ſeed ſpringing up, ſome that is grown larger and ſpiked with ears, ſome turning yellow, and ſome under the reaper's ſickle. The whole year is paſſed in ſowing and reaping, within the compaſs

compaſs of the ſame field, or the ſame horizon. This conſtant variety depends on the ſituation of the mountains, hillocks, plains, and valleys.

THIS plenty of corn, maize, ſugar, flocks, and all proviſions, and the low price at which the impoſſibility of exporting them neceſſarily keeps them, has ſunk the whole province, eſpecially the capital, in the greateſt idleneſs and diſorder.

QUITO, which was conquered by the Spaniards in 1534, and is built on the declivity of the famous mountain of Pitchincha in the Cordeleras, may have fifty thouſand inhabitants, the greateſt part of whom are abandoned to ſhameful and habitual debauchery. Though ſuch manners are common in all the Spaniſh colonies, they have not been carried in any other ſpot to the ſame exceſs of corruption. Among the various paſſions which have there been indulged with the moſt licentious freedom, that of gaming has always been moſt deſtructive in its conſequences.

THOUGH it is prohibited by law to carry a poniard, yet the meſtees, free negroes, or ſlaves, are ſeldom without one. Thus it is that every week, and almoſt every day, is marked by aſſaſſination. The abuſe of thoſe aſylums which ſecure impunity to ſuch horrid acts, is the principal cauſe of theſe diſturbances. It is to be hoped that the exceſs of the evil will point out the neceſſity of a remedy.

THE mother-country continually imputes to this depravity of manners, the ruin of thoſe gold and ſilver mines that were opened at the time of the conqueſt, and the neglect of thoſe that have been

ſince

ſince gradually diſcovered. The province, it is aſſerted, might apply to this kind of induſtry with ſo much the more ſucceſs, as it is better peopled with Indians and Spaniards than any other country of the new world, and derives from itſelf prodigious plenty of excellent proviſions, which in other parts muſt be brought from a great diſtance, and at a very conſiderable expence. Then this country, formerly ſo opulent, might again riſe to its former ſtate, and reſume a luſtre which prejudice and the turn of the place will always prevent its deriving from its own agriculture and manufactures.

THE Spaniards born at Quito, and thoſe that are ſent from Europe to take upon themſelves the government of it, find theſe reproaches ill founded. Their general opinion is, that the mines of this province are not ſufficiently rich to defray the charge of working them. We cannot pretend to decide this point. Yet if we only reflect on the ardour that theſe conquerors have always manifeſted for this ſpecies of riches, which without any labour on their part coſt them nothing but the blood of thoſe who were in poſſeſſion of it, we may venture to conclude, that nothing but an entire impoſſibility, founded on experience, could determine this nation to deny itſelf the purſuit of its natural inclinations, and reſiſt the urgent ſolicitations of the mother-country.

THE province of Quito has endeavoured to make up the deficiency of its mines by the produce of its manufactures. A prodigious quantity of hats, common cloth, light ſtuffs, and baize is made

made here. Exclufive of its home confumption, it exported annually for a long time to the amount of five or fix millions of livres *. With this affiftance it has been enabled to pay for the wines, brandies, and oils, that it was never allowed to draw from its own territory; for the dried and falted fifh which was brought from the coafts; for the foap which is made at Truxillo from the fat of goats, which have exceedingly multiplied there; for the iron ufed in all its works of agriculture; and for all thofe articles of luxury it was fupplied with from the old world. This traffic has diminifhed more than one half. At all times the inhabitants of the province kept up the pride of dreffing in European cloth, known throughout all America by the name of the cloth of Caftille. This tafte is become géneral fince the regifter fhips have been fubftituted to the galleons. The facility of being continually fupplied with thefe ftuffs, and of getting them at a lower price, has ruined the manufactures of Quito, which has been reduced to extreme wretchednefs.

THE country will never emerge from this ftate of poverty by its connections with Spain, to which it furnifhes nothing but bark. The tree which yields this famous remedy is feldom more than two toifes and a half high; its trunk and branches are of a proportional thicknefs: it grows in forefts promifcuoufly amongft many other plants, and is propagated by feeds which fall to the ground of themfelves. The only valuable part of it is its

* On an average about 240,000l.

bark,

bark, which is no otherwiſe prepared than by drying it. The thickeſt was always preferred, till ſome accurate experiments made in England, and frequently repeated, have ſhewn that the thinneſt bark was the moſt efficacious.

It was long believed that the bark tree was only found on the territory of Loxa, a town that was founded in 1546 by captain Alonſo de Mercadillo. That which was in the higheſt eſtimation grew two leagues to the ſouth of this place on the mountain of Cajanuma; and it is not more than fifty years ago, that ſome merchants endeavoured to prove by certificates, that the bark which they ſold came from this famous place. This medicine has lately been diſcovered in the neighbourhood of Riobamba, Cuenca, and ſome other countries, all in the province of Quito.

The bark was known at Rome in 1639. The Jeſuits, who had brought it thither, diſtributed it gratis to the poor, and ſold it at an exorbitant price to the rich. The year following, John de Vega, phyſician to a vice-queen of Peru, who had experienced the ſalutary effects of it, eſtabliſhed it in Spain at an hundred crowns a pound *. This remedy ſoon acquired great reputation, which it maintained, till the inhabitants of Loxa, not being able to ſupply the demands that were made on them, thought of mixing other barks with that which there was ſo much demand for. This fraud diminiſhed the confidence that had been placed in the bark, and conſequently its price. The mea-

* About 13l.

ſures,

ſures, which the court of Madrid employed to remedy ſo dangerous an impoſition, were not entirely ſucceſsful. The late diſcoveries muſt have rendered this production ſo common, that it does not appear probable that it will be adulterated any more.

It is a generally received opinion, that the natives of the country very antiently knew the uſe of the bark. It is ſaid, that they infuſed it a whole day in water, and gave the liquor to a ſick man to drink without the grounds. The fear of revealing ſo ſalutary a remedy to the Spaniards their tyrants, made them renounce it themſelves. They had ſo thoroughly loſt the remembrance of it, that they imagined it was uſed in Europe only for dying. Juſſieu, a French botaniſt, informed them of the contrary about thirty years ago. He taught them to diſtinguiſh the indifferent ſort of bark from the good, and from the moſt excellent of its kind; and accuſtomed them to have recourſe, as we have, to its ſpecific virtue in intermitting fevers.

These people have not paid the ſame attention to the advice of intelligent perſons who were deſirous of perſuading them to cultivate cochineal. This is found, in certain countries of the province, ſimilar in every reſpect to the cochineal of New Spain. It is employed in the manufactures of Loxa and Cuença; to which circumſtance may be aſcribed the ſuperiority of their ſtuffs and carpets to thoſe of Quito, where it is not uſed. If the Spaniards can ever be rouzed from their inactivity to purſue this ſpecies of induſtry, they will open to themſelves a new branch of commerce with

 Europe,

Europe, which they may enlarge, if they pleafe, by the produce of cinnamon.

Towards the eaftern fide of the Cordeleras are fituated the countries of Quixos and Macas, which were fubdued in 1559, and annexed to the province of Quito. There are only fome fcattered and miferable villages there. The firft of thefe countries was never of any ufe to the mother country; and the fecond hath ceafed to be fo, fince the infurrection of the Indians hath occafioned the rich mines, which had been opened there, to be abandoned. Both produce cinnamon, which is in common ufe in Peru, and which might be much further extended, if proper attention were beftowed upon the cultivation of it.

Remarks on Popayan and Chaco.

Till the province of Quito fhall avail itfelf of its own natural advantages, the riches of New Grenada are limited to the metals of Popayan and Chaco, two provinces that were conquered in 1536. The barrennefs of thefe countries at firft induced the Spaniards to form no very favourable opinion of their acquifition; but fome important difcoveries foon ftamped a value on them. Gold mines were found, which are fo much the more advantageous, as the working of them is neither expenfive, difficult, nor hazardous.

The ore is fcattered and mixed with the earth and gravel: this mixture is conveyed into a large refervoir, where it is pounded till the lighteft parts efcape from the refervoir by a pipe which ferves to carry off the water. Then the workmen take the heavy matter, that is to fay, the fand and ore which remain at the bottom, and put it into wooden buckets,

buckets, which they turn circularly with a quick and uniform motion. They change the water, and continue to ſeparate the light matter from the heavy. At laſt there remains at the bottom of theſe tubs nothing but gold cleared of all the extraneous bodies with which it had been combined. It is generally found in duſt, ſometimes in grains of different ſizes. The ſame operation is repeated in the ſecond and third reſervoirs, that are placed under the firſt to receive the light parts of the gold that may have been carried away from the firſt baſon by the running of the water. Some of the workmen are employed in waſhing it, while others dig up the ore and carry it away. The labour is never interrupted.

These works are carried on by about eight thouſand blacks. Theſe ſlaves, who are never employed in mines of any depth, becauſe the cold there kills them, are reſerved for thoſe which are near the ſurface of the earth. They may every where be employed without endangering their life: they are preferred to the Indians, who have leſs capacity and ſtrength than they have, and eſpecially leſs of that good will which gives ſtrength and capacity. It is univerſally the cuſtom in Popayan and Chaco, that they deliver every day to their maſter a certain portion of gold; what they can collect above this quantity belongs to themſelves, as well as what they find on thoſe days that are conſecrated to religion and reſt, on which they are the maſters of their leiſure time, on condition that during the feſtival they maintain themſelves. This agreement puts the moſt laborious, the moſt frugal,

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and the moſt happy among them in a condition of purchaſing ſooner or later their liberty. Then they intermix in marriage with the Spaniards; and the two nations now form only one and the ſame people.

Remarks on Santa Fè.

THE produce of their induſtry is carried to Santa Fè of Bogota, which was built in 1536 by Gonſalvo Ximenes de Queſeda in a place where he arrived from the north ſea by the river of Magdelena, preciſely at the ſame time as Sebaſtian de Benalcazar came there from Popayan. Some violent conteſts immediately aroſe concerning the boundaries between theſe two conquerors, which terminated in favour of Queſeda. The city which he had built became the capital of the new kingdom of Grenada, where in proceſs of time were formed the towns of Marequita, Pampeluna, Tocayma, and ſome others leſs conſiderable.

THIS colony was indebted for its firſt proſperity to the emerald, a precious ſtone, which is tranſparent and of a green colour, and which has no greater degree of hardneſs than the rock cryſtal.

SOME countries of Europe furniſh emeralds, but they are of a very imperfect kind, and in little eſtimation.

IT was for a long time believed that emeralds of a bright green came from the Eaſt Indies, and it is on this account that they have been called oriental. This opinion has been rejected, ſince it has been found impoſſible to tell the places where they were formed. It is now certain that Aſia has never ſold us any of theſe jewels except what ſhe herſelf had received from the new world.

THESE

THESE beautiful emeralds belong certainly to America alone. The firſt conquerors of Peru found a great quantity of them, which they broke on anvils, from a perſuaſion they had that they would not break if they were fine. This loſs became the more ſenſibly felt through the impoſſibility of diſcovering the mine from whence the Incas had drawn ſo much treaſure. The mountains of new Grenada at laſt ſupplied this deficiency; they furniſhed a great quantity of emeralds, which were carried to Europe, from whence they were diffuſed throughout the whole world.

THE Spaniſh hiſtorians ſpeak with enthuſiaſm of the emeralds and metals which this colony originally furniſhed. Some make the produce amount to ſums which would even aſtoniſh perſons who have the greateſt propenſity to the marvellous. Exaggeration, perhaps, has never been carried ſo far. If the fabulous reports that were raiſed had only been approaching to the truth, the coloniſts would have multiplied in proportion to their riches, as it hath happened in all the ſettlements the opulence of which has never been doubtful. This populouſneſs does not exiſt, and no æra can be alledged in which there were any remarkable emigrations.

LET this be as it may, theſe countries, which are ſuppoſed formerly to have been ſo renowned, are fallen into the greateſt obſcurity: if Santa Fè has in ſome degree been reſcued from oblivion, it does not derive this advantage from its productions, which are reduced to a ſmall quantity of tobacco of an indifferent quality that is diſpoſed of in the in-

 land

land country, to a little corn which ſerves to ſupply Carthagena with proviſion of this kind, and to a ſmall number of emeralds, and a little quantity of gold, furniſhed by the valley of Neyva. The attention ſtill beſtowed upon it is in conſequence of the happineſs it has of being the ſeat of government, the center of all buſineſs, and the mart of the riches of Popayan and Chaco.

THESE riches are carried on mules for five hundred leagues, and embarked at Honda on the river of Magdalena, upon ſmall veſſels. After a few days ſailing they enter into a channel formed by nature, and enlarged about the middle of the laſt century, which brings them to Carthagena. In the ſeaſons when this channel is without water, and through the negligence of government it will ſoon be without it in all ſeaſons, the voyage is carried on upon the river, till they arrive at three days journey from this celebrated town, which they afterwards travel to by land.

Remarks on Carthagena.

THE place where Carthagena is at preſent ſituated, was diſcovered in 1502 by Baſtidas, who would have ſettled there, if he had not been repulſed by the ſavages. Several adventurers, who followed his footſteps, experienced the ſame reſiſtance. At laſt Heredia appeared in 1527 with a force ſufficient to reduce them. He built and peopled the town.

THE proſperity of this ſettlement drew thither in 1544 ſome French pirates, who pillaged it. In 1585 it was burnt by the celebrated Drake. Pointis took it and ranſomed it in 1697. Admiral Vernon

Vernon was obliged in 1741 to raiſe the ſiege of it, though he had undertaken it with twenty-five ſhips of the line, ſix fire-ſhips, two bomb ketches, and as many land forces as were ſufficient to conquer all America.

AFTER ſo many revolutions, Carthagena now ſubſiſts in ſplendour in a peninſula of ſand, which is joined to the continent only by two narrow necks of land, the broadeſt of which is not thirty-five toiſes. Its fortifications are regular. Nature has placed at a little diſtance a hill of tolerable height, on which the citadel of St. Lazarus has been built. In time of peace theſe works are defended by a garriſon of between ſix and ſeven hundred men. The town is one of the beſt built, the moſt regular and beſt diſpoſed of any in the new world. It may contain twenty-five thouſand ſouls. Of this number the Spaniards form the ſixth part, the negroes, Indians, and ſeveral races compoſed of mixtures of an infinite variety, make up the remainder.

THIS mixture is more common at Carthagena than in the other Spaniſh colonies. A multitude of adventurers without employment, without fortune, and without recommendations, are continually reſorting to this place. In a country where they are totally unknown, no citizen can venture to repoſe any confidence in their ſervices; they are deſtined to ſubſiſt wretchedly on the alms of the convents, and to lie in the corner of a ſquare, or at the gate of a church. If the afflictions they experience in this miſerable ſtate bring ſome violent diſeaſe upon them, they are commonly aſſiſted by the free negro women, whoſe care and kindneſs they

they require by marrying them. Such who have not the happineſs of being in a ſituation dreadful enough to excite the compaſſion of the women, are obliged to retire to ſome village to live there by cultivating the ground, and reaping the fruit of their labours; which the haughty lazineſs of the inhabitants conſiders at the utmoſt ignominy. In reality, indolence is carried ſo far, that men and women who are wealthy ſeldom quit their hammocks, and that but for a little time.

Two celebrated Spaniards have judged the climate to be one of the principal cauſes of this inactivity. The heat is exceſſive and continual at Carthagena. The torrents of water, which are inceſſantly pouring down from the month of May to November, have this peculiarity, that they never cool the air, which is ſometimes a little moderated in the dry ſeaſon by the north-eaſt winds. The night is as hot as the day. An habitual perſpiration gives the inhabitants the pale and livid colour of ſickly perſons. Even when they are in perfect health their motions partake of the ſoftneſs of the climate, which evidently relaxes their fibres. This indolence manifeſts itſelf even in their words, which are always uttered ſlowly and with a low voice. Thoſe who come hither from Europe preſerve their freſh complexions and plumpneſs three or four months. They afterwards loſe both by falling into inceſſant ſweats.

THIS ſtate is the fore-runner of an evil ſtill more dreadful, but the nature of which is little known. It is conjectured that ſome perſons are affected with it from catching cold, others from indigeſtion.

It

It manifefts itfelf by vomiting accompanied with fo violent a delirium, that the patient muft be confined, to prevent him from tearing himfelf to pieces. He often expires in the midft of thefe agitations, which feldom laft above three or four days. Thofe who have efcaped this danger at firft, run no rifque for the future. We are affured from the teftimony of men of underftanding, that even upon their return to Carthagena after a long abfence, they have nothing to fear.

THIS town and its territory exhibit the fpectacle of a hideous leprofy, which indifcriminately attacks both natives and ftrangers. The philofophers who have attempted to afcribe this calamity to the eating of pork, have not confidered that this diftemper is unknown in the other countries of America, where this kind of food is not lefs common. To prevent the progrefs of this diftemper, an hofpital has been founded in the country. All perfons who are fuppofed to be attacked with it are fhut up here, without diftinction of fex, rank, or age. The benefit of fo wife an eftablifhment is loft through the avarice of the governors, who without being deterred by the danger of fpreading the difeafe, fuffer the poor to go in and out to beg. Thus it is that the number of the fick is fo great, that the inclofure of the dwelling is of an immenfe extent. Every one there enjoys a little fpot of ground that is marked out for him on his admiffion. There he builds an abode fuitable to his fortune, where he lives in tranquillity to the end of his days, which are often long, though unhappy. This diforder fo power-

fully

fully excites that paſſion which is the ſtrongeſt of all others, that it has been judged neceſſary to permit marriage to ſuch as are afflicted with it. This is, perhaps, increaſing the paſſion by increaſing the means of ſatisfying it. Theſe deſires appear to be irritated by the very gratification of them, they increaſe by their very remedies, and are reproduced by each other. The wretchedneſs of beholding this ardent diſeaſe, which infects the blood, perpetuated in the children, hath given way to the dread of other diſorders that are, perhaps, chimerical.

If we were leſs acquainted with the negligent diſpoſition of the Spaniards, we might perſuade them to make an experiment which, probably, would be attended with ſucceſs. There are ſome people in Africa that are ſituated nearly under the ſame latitude, who have a cuſtom of rubbing the body with an oil that is expreſſed from the fruit of a tree that is like the palm. This oil is of a diſagreeable ſmell, but has the ſalutary property of ſtopping the pores of the ſkin, and checking the ſweats which the heat of the climate would render exceſſive, eſpecially during three months of the year, in which a dreadful calm afflicts theſe countries. If a ſimilar method were tried at Carthagena, perhaps the leproſy might be reſtrained, or even totally aboliſhed. We know that thoſe who are attacked with this diſeaſe perſpire no longer, and that their ſkin is hard and ſcaly. Would it be repugnant to the principles of ſound philoſophy, to attribute it to too copious a perſpiration, which impoveriſhes the fibres of the ſkin,

ſkin, and renders them incapable of performing their functions? The uſe of an oil or greaſe fit to diminiſh this extreme degree of perſpiration, and at the ſame time prevent its total ſuppreſſion, ſeems to be the method indicated by nature to guard againſt the calamity we are now ſpeaking of.

NOTWITHSTANDING this diſtemper, the badneſs of the climate, and many other inconveniences, Spain hath always ſhewed a great predilection for Carthagena on account of its harbour, one of the beſt that is known. It is two leagues in extent, and has a deep and excellent bottom. There is leſs agitation there, than on the moſt calm river. The paſſage to it formerly was ſolely by the canal of Bocca Chica. This was ſo narrow, that only one veſſel could paſs, without being expoſed to the croſs batteries of forts erected on both ſides. The Engliſh in 1741 having deſtroyed the fortifications that defended this paſſage, it was ſhut up by the Spaniards. An antient canal was opened, which was diſpoſed in ſuch a manner that it will not be eaſy for an enemy's ſquadron to force it. This is the way by which all veſſels now enter into the harbour.

AT the time that the trade of Peru was carried on by the galleons, theſe veſſels ſailed to Carthagena before they went to Porto Bello, and viſited it again on their return. In the firſt voyage, they depoſited the merchandiſe that was neceſſary for the interior provinces, and received the price of it in the ſecond. This arrangement diſpleaſed the merchants of Lima, who pretended that when they came back from the fair, they found all their country

country provided with the ſame things which they had been to fetch at a great diſtance. They petitioned, and they obtained that Carthagena ſhould not be ſtocked till after Porto Bello.

By this reſtriction the provinces of Santa Fè, Popayan and Quito, were reduced, either to draw at a great expence and with great hazard what they wanted from the fair itſelf, or to content themſelves with the refuſe of it. This arrangement, which continued ſeveral years, was extremely diſpleaſing to them. In 1730 a ſcheme was deviſed, which ſeemed proper to reconcile the differences. It was agreed that things ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed on the old footing, but that at the arrival of the gallcons the traffic of European goods ſhould ceaſe between the two vice-royalties. Spain had not yet made ſufficient progreſs in the knowledge of political œconomy to be ſenſible how far ſuch a regulation was contrary to reaſon and to her intereſt.

The ſuppreſſion of the galleons made no change in this matter. The veſſels which ſucceſſively come to Carthagena to ſupply New Grenada with proviſions, do not annually carry away above five millions *. Thoſe who know that there is more than double this ſum coined in the mint of Santa Fè, the only money that exiſts in the country ſince that of Popayan was ſuppreſſed, and who cannot alſo be ignorant that all the gold which the mines produce cannot poſſibly be coined there, will be amazed at the ſmallneſs of theſe returns. But their aſtoniſhment will ceaſe, if they conſider

* Not quite 219,000l.

the

the quantity of gold that is fraudulently exported. Smuggling is carried on in ſeveral places on the coaſt. The riches of Chaco are chiefly conveyed away by the river of Atrato, which falls into the gulph of Darien, and thoſe of Popayan by the different mouths of the Magdalena, which it is impoſſible to guard. Spain will never ſucceed in breaking theſe ſmuggling connections, unleſs ſhe abandons her former prejudices. A more rational ſyſtem would not only ſecure to her the treaſures ſhe is likely to loſe, but would alſo give a new value to the only lands of the viceroyalty that are cultivated with emolument to the mother-country.

Remarks on the countries ſituated between the rivers Magdalena and Oroonoko.

BETWEEN the rivers of Magdalena and Oroonoko is a long ſucceſſion of coaſts which occupy an immenſe ſpace. Theſe were diſcovered in 1499 by Ojeda, John de la Caſas, and Americus Veſputius, who landed with four ſhips at a place which they called Venezuela, from the reſemblance it appeared to them to have with Venice. The ſettlements which theſe adventurers and their followers attempted on the continent, were not formed with the ſame eaſe as thoſe in the iſlands. The ſavages, who were accuſtomed to make war upon one another, reſiſted them with a degree of oppoſition that was ſometimes obſtinate. At laſt theſe ſmall detached nations, which by their natural diſpoſition, or the ſtate of war they lived in, had rarely any fixed abode, took the reſolution either of removing themſelves far back into the inland countries, or of ſubmitting.

A CONSIDERABLE number of ſmall towns were then built, the moſt famous of which were Cumana,

mana, Caraccas, Verina, Coro, Maracaybo, and Saint Martha. In the territory of ſome of theſe were found mines of gold which at firſt were worked. Their produce in the beginning was pretty conſiderable, but this ſucceſs was only tranſitory. Whether this aroſe from there being little gold in them, or, as is moſt probable, that moſt of them were only the branches of mines, it ſoon became neceſſary to abandon them. In the ſettlements that were deſtitute of mines, the Spaniards, thirſting after gold and blood, went into the internal parts of the country to maſſacre the Indians, or wreſt from them what they had collected of that valuable ſand in their rivers, in order to compoſe various ornaments of it. The laſt reſource of theſe deſperate men was to make ſlaves, in order to export them into the iſlands that their barbarity had depopulated.

La Casas was incenſed at this horrible conduct. In 1519, he propoſed to form a colony on this coaſt, in which no one ſhould be able to ſettle but with his conſent. His coloniſts were to be clothed in ſuch a manner as to make it believed that they did not belong to the nation which had rendered itſelf ſo odious. Their apparel was to be white, with a croſs of the ſame colour, and nearly the figure of that of Calatrava. He affirmed, that with theſe kind of knights, and with miſſionaries inſtructed by himſelf, he ſhould be able, without war, violence, or ſlavery, to form connections with the ſavages, to civilize them, to eſtabliſh agriculture, and even to work the mines that might be diſcovered. His ambition

was

was confined to obtaining for his expence the twelfth of what the government ſhould draw from the countries whoſe felicity he thus anxiouſly ſtudied.

THIS plan was too favourable to mankind not to be rejected. The ambitious who govern ſtates and nations, conſider them as mere objects of trade, and treat as chimerical every thing that tends to the improvement and happineſs of the human ſpecies.. Charles V. mortgaged the province of Venezuela, ſituated in the midſt of the coaſt we are now ſpeaking of, to the family of the Welſers. Theſe rich merchants of Auſburg in 1528 ſent thither four hundred and fourſcore Germans, who in avarice and ferocity ſurpaſſed all perſons that had before appeared in the new world. Hiſtory accuſes them of having maſſacred or cauſed to be deſtroyed a million of Indians. Their tyranny ended by a horrible cataſtrophe, and they were never replaced. It was conſidered as a happineſs, that the country which they had laid waſte ſhould return under the Spaniſh dominion.

UNFORTUNATELY the ſcenes of horror which the Germans had exhibited, were renewed by Carjaval, who was appointed to the government of this unhappy country. This monſter, it is true, loſt his head on a ſcaffold; but the puniſhment did not recall from the grave the victims he had ſacrificed. The depopulation was ſo complete, that in 1550 a great number of negroes were imported from Africa, on whom the hopes of an unbounded proſperity were founded. The habit of tyranny made the Spaniards treat theſe

ſlaves

ſlaves with ſuch ſeverity, that they revolted. Their rebellions furniſhed a pretext for maſſacring all the males; and this colony once more became a deſert in which the aſhes of negroes, Spaniards, Indians, and Germans were intermixed. Venezuela fell again into that total oblivion which alſo involved the provinces that are in the vicinity of the Oroonoko and the Magdalena, though the extent, excellence, and variety of their ſoil might have invited the mother country to derive ſeveral productions from them, and for the moſt part very rich ones. The center of this extenſive coaſt is employed in cultivating cocoa.

THE cocoa tree is of a middling ſize, and is propagated from ſeeds, which are ſown at certain diſtances. When it begins to ſhoot, it divides into three, four, five, or ſix trunks, according to the vigour of the root. In proportion as it grows, its branches, which are always very far from one another, bend towards the earth. Its leaves, which are long and ſmooth, have an agreeable ſmell, terminate in a point, and reſemble, if they were gloſſy, thoſe of the orange tree. From the ſtem, as well as from the branches, riſes a jonquil flower, the piſtil of which contains the huſk that incloſes the fruit. This huſk, which is of the figure of a melon, and is pointed and divided into portions that are ſtrongly marked, grows to the length of about ſix or ſeven inches, and the breadth of four or five, and incloſes between twenty and thirty ſmall almonds. It is green during its growth, then it turns yellow; which is a proof that its fruit begins to have ſome degree

degree of firmneſs. As ſoon as it acquires the colour of deep muſk, it muſt be gathered, and dried immediately. Every ſeed of the cocoa is found incloſed in the diviſions of the membranes of the huſk. Two crops are made annually, which are equal in quality and quantity.

The cocoa tree, which begins to reward the labour of the cultivator at the end of two or three years, requires a moiſt ground. If it wants water, it produces no fruit, withers and dies. A ſhade to ſhelter it continually from the heat of the ſun, is not leſs neceſſary to it. It ought to be ſurrounded with ſtrong trees, that under the ſhelter of them it may flouriſh. The culture it further requires is neither laborious nor expenſive. It is ſufficient to extirpate the graſs around it, which would deprive it of its nouriſhment.

Though the cocoa tree is ſucceſsfully cultivated in ſeveral countries of America, and even grows naturally in others, it ſucceeds in no part of it ſo well as on the coaſt we are deſcribing. All the parts of America gather a little, but it only becomes an important object on the territory of Caraccas. It is reckoned that the crop of this valuable fruit produces more than a hundred thouſand fangaes of one hundred and ten pounds each. The country of Santa Fé conſumes twenty thouſand; Mexico a little more; the Canaries a ſmall cargo, and Europe from between fifty to ſixty thouſand. The cultivation of this plant employs ten or twelve thouſand negroes. Such of them who in proceſs of time have obtained their

 liberty,

liberty, have built the little town of Nirva, where they will not admit any white people.

THE commerce of Caraccas, to which the bay of Guaira at two leagues from it, ſerves for a harbour, was a long time open to all the ſubjects of the Spaniſh monarchy, and is ſo ſtill to the Americans. The Europeans are not ſo well treated. In 1728, a company was formed at Saint Sebaſtian, which obtained an excluſive right of maintaining connections with this part of the new world. Four or five ſhips, which they diſpatch every year, ſail from thence, but they return to Cadiz. The fanega of cocoa, which ſeldom in the colony coſts more than thirty-five livres*, that are paid in merchandiſe, is delivered in Spain at the fixed price of one hundred and ninety-nine livres †. There is no price ſettled for the little cotton, indigo, and leather, which come from this part of the new world.

WHEN we conſider that this is all the produce of a coaſt which is nine hundred leagues long, and twenty, thirty, and forty deep, in a ſoil very often highly ſuſceptible of cultivation; it is impoſſible not to be ſeized with aſtoniſhment and indignation. If Spain would take effectual meaſures to beſtow marks of diſtinction on all perſons who are employed in uſeful labours, the plunderers who now acquire at Saint Martha a miſerable ſubſiſtence by ſmuggling on the river de la Hacha, and in other places, would then apply themſelves to agricul-

* 1l. 10s. 7d. ½. † About 8l. 14s.

ture,

ture. To that ſpirit of deſtruction, which has hitherto been the baſis of her policy, if ſhe would ſubſtitute the principles of moderation and humanity, we ſhould then behold the Motilones, the Guajaros, and all the ſavages that ſurround her back ſettlements, or who intercept their communication, haſten to form connections, which will become neceſſarily and reciprocally uſeful. Then the provinces, that are ſituated between Magdalena and Oroonoko will riſe to that degree of ſplendor for which they are deſtined by nature. They will excel in rich and various productions a great number of colonies, whoſe fertility has been celebrated for ſo long a time. Theſe important objects are ſo evident, that it would be uſeleſs to enlarge upon them any further. We ſhall therefore proceed to ſpeak of Chili.

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